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New Shakspere Society.

Series VI. No. 3.

Shakspere's England.

WILLIAM STAFFORD'S

Compendious or briefe

Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints

of diuers of our Countrymen in these our Daies.

A.D. 1581.

(otherwise called

"A BRIEFE CONCEIPT OF ENGLISH POLICY.")

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PUBLISHED FOR

The New Shakspere Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,

LONDON, E.C., 1876.

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The following Publications of the *New Shakspere Society*

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2, 3. The First two Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597 and 1599: simple Reprints, edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.

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Dr Ingleby presented to every Member a copy of his Still Lion, *an attempt to establish a Science of Criticism of Shakspere's Text. Mr Furnivall also presented to every Member a copy of his* Introduction to Gervinus's Commentaries.

The following Publications have been issued for 1875:

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5, 6. *Henry V*: *a.* Facsimile Reprints of the Quarto, 1600, and First Folio, 1623, edited by Brinsley Nicholson, M.D.

Series I. *Transactions*, 2, 3. 1874, Part II; 1875-6, Part I, Containing Papers by Messrs Hales, Fleay, Simpson, and Spedding, and Prof. Ingram and Delius, with Reports of the Discussions on them.

Series III. *Originals and Analogues.* 1. Part I. *a.* The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar[thur] Br[ooke], 1562; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq. *b.* The goodly hystory of the true and constant loue between Rhomeo and Julietta; from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.

Mr Halliwell presented to every Member a copy of Mr A. H. Payne's "Shakespeare's Plays: a Chapter of Stage History."

The following Publications will soon be issued for 1876:

Series VI. *Shakspere's England.* 1. William Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577, 1587, edited from its two versions by Fredk. J. Furnivall, M.A. Part I, with a 4-times enlargd copy of Norden's Map of London by van den Keere, 1593, and Notes on it by Mr H. B. Wheatley.
2. *a. Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift*, 1593, with *The passionate Morrice*. *b.* John Lane's *Tom Tel-Trothes message, and his pens complaint*, 1600. *c.* Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades, or the Plaine Pathway to Preferment*, 1631. *d. The Glasse of Godly Loue*, [1569]. (*Presented by 3 Members of the Society.*) Edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.
3. William Stafford's *Compendious or briefe Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints of diuers of our Countreymen in these our Days*, 1581; with an Introduction by F. D. Matthew, Esq.; edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. (*Presented by the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.*)
4. Phillip Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1 May, 1583; with extracts from his Life of his Wife, 1591; ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. (*Presented by Richard Johnson, Esq.*)

Series II. *Plays.* 7, 8. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Shakspere and Fletcher; *a.* A Reprint of the Quarto of 1634; *b.* a revised Edition, with Notes, by Harold Littledale, Esq., Trinity College, Dublin.

Series VIII. *Miscellanies.* 1. The late Prof. W. Spalding's Letter on the Authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, on the Characteristics of SHAKSPERE's style, and the secret of his Supremacy (1833). A new ed. with a Memoir of Prof. Spalding by John Hill Burton, LL.D.

The following Publications of the *New Shakspere Society* are in the Press:

Series I. *Transactions.* Part II. for 1875-6 containing Papers by Prof. Delius, &c.

Series II. *Plays.* 9. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Shakspere and Fletcher; *a.* An Introduction, and Glossarial Index of all the words, distinguishing Shakspere's from Fletcher's, by Harold Littledale, Esq., Trinity College, Dublin.

William Dinsmore Briggs
London, 1921

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To his fellow Members

OF

THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY

BY

THE RT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

One of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

Compendious or briefe examination

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LONDON, E.C., 1876.

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[This treatise by "W. S." is assignd to WILLIAM STAFFORD on the authority of Anthony Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, in the 2nd or posthumous edition of his *Ath. Oxon.* (from his notes) 1721, vol. i. col. 203, and the statement of Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, 1767, "I have since observed, that Wood is not the first who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet."—*Variorum Shakspere*, 1821; vol. i. p. 346, note.]

Series VI. No. 3.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

FOREWORDS.

Of the Elizabethan Tracts in the *Condition-of-Tudor-England-Series* which the Early English Text Society undertook at my request in 1869 (see Report, Jan. 1869, p. 17—20), one of the earliest in date was the present *Examination*, by William Stafford, of certain complaints of his countrymen in his day, A.D. 1581. The most important work was Harrison's *Description of England*, A.D. 1577—87, in Shakspere's youth, of which, Book 2 appears with this *Stafford*. The most amusing[1] was Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses, or notable Vices and Corruptions, reigning in England in 1583—95; and a reprint of this, our member Mr Richard Johnson will kindly give us this year. These volumes, together with the *Tell-troth* one—containing reprints of the unique[2] *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, and *Passionate Morrice*, 1593, the very rare *Tom Tel-troths Message, and his Pens Complaint*, 1600, Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631, and Thos. Pritchard's[3] unique[2] *Glasse of Godly Loue*—will give a good start to our New Shakspere Society's *Shakspere's-England Series*, the sixth of the eight Series plannd for it.

This Series may of course run to an almost indefinite extent; and as the Early English Text Society has only too gladly handed over to the New Shakspere Society this portion of its work, I hope that the new Society will at least reprint the works that the old one had undertaken:

"The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A.D. 1587.

"A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth &c., A.D. 1590.

[1] Dekker's *Guls Horne-Book*, 1609, was not included in the list, as Nott's edition of 1812 (? Halliwell's of 1862) was still in the market; but the book is now in Mr Henry Brown's hands to prepare for a new edition for the New Shakspere Society. Dekker's *Belman of London*, 1608, and *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1609, prig largely—as does the *Groundwork of Coneycatching*, 1592—from Harman's *Caveat*, 1567. See the edition of the latter by Mr Viles and myself, E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. xiv—xxi.

[2] Believd so to be.

[3] Or John Rogers's.

"The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. 1594.

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hvmble Petition of two Sisters: the Chvrch and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seven reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

Very many lighter and more amusing tracts might be added to the list. The Committee will be glad to hear of any fresh ones, and of any Members who will help, by gifts of money, to present Reprints to the Society.[1]

[1] The Early English Text Society has publisht the following Texts bearing on the Language and Social Condition of Shakspere's time :—

Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617 A.D., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4*s*. 1865.

Early English Pronunciati n, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by A. J. Ellis, F.R.S. 4 parts, 10*s*. each. 1867, 1869, 1871, 1874.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy, a Book of Precedence, &c. Edited by F. J. Fur nivall, Esq, with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. Rossetti, Esq., and E. Oswald, Esq. 13*s*. 1869.

Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vaccabondes, 1561, Harman's Caveat, 1567, &c. (de scribing the different classes of Rogues). Edited by E. Viles, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 7*s*. 6*d*. 1869.

(Hugh Rhodes's *Book of Nurture*, 1577, Richard Weste's *Booke of Demeanor*, 1619, and F. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, 1557, are in the *Babees Book*, 1868.)

The Times Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., A.D. 1616, edited by J. M Cowper, Esq. (part of this gives a dark picture of the vices of the time). 6*s*. 1871.

Francis Thynne's Embleames and Epigrams, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4*s*. 1876.

On the Condition of earlier Tudor England, the E. E. Text Soc. has publisht (besides Sir David Lyndesay's Works) :—

Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547, and Dyetary of Helth, 1542; with Barnes in the Defence of the Berd, 1542-3. Edited, with a Life of Boorde, and an account of his Works, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 18*s*. 1870.

England in Henry VIII.'s Time : a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to Henry VIII. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. Part II. 12*s*. 1871. (Part I., *Starkey's Life and Letters*, is in preparation.)

A Supplycacyon of the Beggers, by Simon Fish, 1528-9 A.D., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. ; with A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde ; A Supplication of the Poore Commons ; and The Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6*s*. 1871.

Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams, Voyce of The Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, &c., 1550-1 A.D., edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12*s*. 1872.

The Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549 A.D., with an Appendix of four Contemporary English Tracts, edited by J. A. H. Murray, Esq. 10*s*. 1872-1873.

Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse of

Stafford's book is not, like Harrison's, a deliberate description of the social state of England at its date (1581), but an inquiry into the causes of the dearth or dearness[1] of things then prevailing. Of the great rise in prices since his youth, Harrison too complains, and gives some interesting particulars (pp. 144, 153, 300, &c. of my edition). Harrison complains also of an occasional scarcity of supplies (p. 302); but that there was no general dearth, or scarcity in our sense, is clear from the silence of the chroniclers on the point.

The only notice in Stowe of a dearth[2] in any year near 1581, is

certen wicked Lawes, euel Customes, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Citie of London, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9*s*. 1874.

The Ballad Society has publisht, for Tudor England :—

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i: Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns (including the State of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), on Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Somerset, and Lady Jane Grey, with Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of a Galaunt* (ab. 1520 A.D.); ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1860, 1872.

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. ii: The Poore Man's Pittance, by Richard Williams (1. The fall of Anthony Babington; 2. the Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded 1601; 3. the horrible Treason of the Gunpowder Plot); Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Warwick, and Bacon; the Candlewick Ballads, &c.; edited by J. F. Furnivall, M.A., and W. R. Morfill, M.A.

Captain Cox his Ballads and Books, or Robert Laneham's Letter; Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castle, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress. 1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, with Forewords describing all the accessible Books, Tales, and Ballads, in Captain Cox's List, and the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1548-9 A.D (so as to show the Literature on which a man of the lower middle class in Shakspere's time was brought up).

Jyll of Braintford, The Wyll of the Deuyll, Talk of ten Wives, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

[1] This meaning of *dearth* is now lost in its second sense of 'scarcity.' The first meaning is seen in Chaucer's "Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the *derthe* of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising," *Parson's Tale*, quoted by Richardson, but not in the Ellesmere MS., or Harl. 7334. "We should then not only haue *dearth*, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it." p. 47 below, l. 4 from foot.

[2] The chief dearth in Shakspere's time was in 1594-5. And as one cause of it was the great rains that fell in May, June, July, and September, 1594, and some critics date *The Midsummer Night's Dream* 1594-5, from its supposd allusion to these rains in II. i. 88-117, I print, at the end of these *Forewords*, the passages from Stowe relating to this dearth. *King John* (1595) is also supposd to allude to these rains and floods, from its storm imagery, its 'river peering o'er his bounds,' III. i. 23, its 'bated and retired flood,' V. iv. 53, &c. &c.

the following in 1574,—p. 1147, ed. 1605 (the Author's last edition) —but the rise in prices was only for a short time: [1]

An. reg. 16. 1574.

"This yeere about Lammas, wheate was sold at London for three shillings the bushell; but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, fiue shillings, sixe shillings, and before Christmas, to a noble and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: beefe was sold for twenty pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price; all kinde of salt fish very deere, as fiue herrings twopence, &c., yet great plentie of fresh-fish, and oft times the same very cheape: bay salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money.

Dearth without scarcitie

p. 1149. "This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell: at which price it stayed (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after; but bay salt was raised from three shillings to foure, fiue, and sixe shillings the bushell, the like whereof had never beene seene or heard within this realme."

Bay salt deare

Stowe's words "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money" may be taken as telling the real state of the case [cp. p. 32 below]. But how about those who did want money, or, at any rate, those whose money didn't go so far as in former days? Well, they grumbl'd. And William Stafford, acting as Doctor or Counsellor, heard the complaints of a representative of each class —a Knight for the land-owners, a Husbandman for the farmers, a Merchant for the traders, and a Capper for the artisans—and gave his opinion on the reasonableness of their complaints, the causes of the high prices they grumbl'd at, and the remedies for these evils. In the course of this we get much valuable light thrown on the condition of England in Shakspere's youth (see especially, p. 28-9, 33-4, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50-4, 61, 63-6, 71-2, 87-91); and hence comes the reprint of Stafford's tract in our Sixth Series.[2] As Mr Matthew has

[1] Stowe notes the high prices of grain and food in 1587:—

1587. Proclamation for graine.

The queenes maiesty, foreseeing the generall *dearth* of graine, and other victuals, growne partly through the vnseasonablenesse of *the* yeares past, partly through the vncharitable greedinesse of such as be great corne maisters, but especially through the vnlawfull and ouermuch transporting of graine into forraine countries, vnder colour of licence granted, by the aduise of her honorable counsell, published a proclamation and booke of orders to be taken by her iustices for reliefe of the poore; notwithstanding all which, the excessiue prises of graine still increased, so that wheate was solde at London for 8 s. the bushell, and in some other parts of the realme, for 10.s., 12.s. 13 s. &c.

[2] Stafford is quoted several times in the well-known Sir F. M. Eden's "*State*

dealt, in his *Introduction*, with the value of the complaints and Stafford's remedies, I only refer here to my collection of extracts on the Enclosures in Tudor times, in my *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. i, p. 3-56, and to Mr J. M. Cowper's editions of *England in Henry VIII's time* and the *Supplications* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series (above, p. iv, note).

As too Stafford agrees with the Merchant (p. 27-8) in attributing the original rise of prices to the debasement of our coin by Henry VIII, I give here the extracts from Stowe relating to this base coinage, its successive falls, and final calling-in :—

(A.D. 1544.) (36 Hen. VIII.) Base money coined.

In this meane space, to wit, on the sixteenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the enhaunsing of golde to 48.s. and siluer to foure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneyes in great abundance, which was since that time, to wit, in the fift yeere of King *Edward* the sixt, called doune, from 12 pence to nine pence, from 9 pence to 6 pence : and in the seconde yeere of Queene *Elizabeth* called in to her maiesties mints, and there refined.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615.

1551. First fall of the base money

The 9 of July, the base moneies (coyned in the time of King *Henry* the eight, and king *Edward* the sixt) was proclaimed, the shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence : which tooke effect immediately after the proclamation was made.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 605.

Second fall of base monies.

The 17 of August, the shilling, which of late was called downe to nine pence, was called downe to 6.d., the groat to 2.d., the halfe groate to one penny, the penny to an halfe penney.—*ib.*[1]

of the Poor," 1797; and at Vol. I. p. 89 *note*, he is cited as having influenced the Legislature :

"In imposing restrictions of the exportation of wool, the Legislature seems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who says, that, 'in order to make tillage as well cherished of every man as pasture, the first way is to make the wool to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the corne is ; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea unwrought, as yee make of corne : another is, to increase the custome of woole that passeth over unwrought ; & by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, & yet the price over sea shall be never the lesse.' A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581 [p. 44]. This piece, in which several important branches of political science (particularly the subject of enclosures) are ably discussed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a husbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare," &c. &c.

[1] On Mary's new coinages in 1553, Stowe says :

1 Mary. New Coines.

The 4 of September, was proclaimed certaine new coines of gold & siluer : a soueraigne of gold of 30.s., the halfe soueraigne 15.s., an angell of 10.s., the

The third and last fall of base money.

The 28 of September this yeere 1559, proclamation was made, that the Teston, which at first was quoyned for twelue pence, and in the raygne of K. *Edward* the sixt, had beene abated and brought downe to sixe pence, should now againe be abated and brought downe to foure pence halfe peny, being of the best sorte; and the two other sortes of Testons, being distinguished by seuerall stamps, should likewise be abated, viz. the second sort to two pence farthing; and the third sort was made of no value. And by this proclamation the olde Groat was also abated, and brought downe to two pence, and the old two pence was brought downe to a penny: these olde moneys being thus abated, the queene caused them all to bee brought into her mint, and according to the last valuation of them, shee gaue fine money of cleane siluer for them, commonly called Sterling money; and from this time there was no manner of base money quoyned or vsed in Englande,—which had beene vsuall and currant throughout this realme in all former ages,—but all English moneys were made of golde and siluer, which is not so in any other nation whatsoeuer, but [they all] haue sundry sorts of copper money.—*ib.* p. 646, col. 1, l. 30.

1561. *An. reg.* 4. New Coines.

The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes maiestie published a proclamation[1] for diuerse small pieces of siluer money to bee currant, as the sixe pence, foure pence, three pence, 2 pence, and a peny, three halfe pence, and 3 farthings: and also forbad all forraine coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them into her maiesties mint, except 2 sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne: whereupon, for the space of halfe a yeere, was weekely brought into the Tower of London, 8000, 10000, 12000, 16000, 20000, 22000, pound of siluer plates: and as much or more in pistolets, and other gold of Spanish coines; and one week, in pistolets and other Spanish golde, 26000 pound: all these to be coyned with the Queenes stamps.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 647, col. 1, l. 50.

Stafford's tract was reprinted in 1751, and its editor tri'd to prove that Shakspere (then a youth of 17, having perhaps not long left school) wrote it, full as it is, of experience, knowledge of life, and thought on the social condition of England, and its causes. This absurd notion was founded on the "W. S." of the title-page, and on Stafford's having, in his Dedication to the Queen, thankt her for her "late and singular clemency in pardoning a certayne my vndutiful misdemeanour." This was supposd to refer to Shakspere's supposd stealing of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, which must have happend, if it hapt at all, in 1585-6. The ridiculousness of the idea was exposd

halfe angell 5.s.; of siluer, the groat, halfe groat, and penny. All base coines to be currant as before.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 616, col. 1, l. 52.

[1] See it in the Appendix, p. 100 below.

by Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, p. 81-4, ed. 1821, and he showd, by a reference to Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*[1] (Pt I. col. 378, ed. Bliss), that the 'W. S. Gent:' of 1581 was a William Stafford. But that "vndutifull misdemeanour" which Stafford mentions, evidently weighd on Farmer's mind, and so, to account for it, he turnd our loyal Protestant Stafford of 1581 into a Papist traitor or a conspirator of 1587, absolutely without any reason, so far as I can see, except the chance identity of name:

"Stafford had been concerned *at that time*, and was indeed afterward, as Camden[2] and other Annalists inform us, with some of the Conspirators against Elizabeth, which he properly calls his *unduetifull behaviour*."—Farmer, p. 83-4, ed. 1821.

I can find no notice, in the *Domestic State Papers* of the time of Elizabeth, of any William Stafford being concernd in a plot against Elizabeth till 1587.[3]

[1] In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, pt I. (at the end of vol. 2 of the *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss), col. 378, under a notice of William Stafford of Norfolk, a student of Christ Church, author of the '*Reasons of the War*,' 1644, the writer says, "Besides this Will. Stafford, was another of both his names, but before him in time, author of *A Compendium, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Country-men in these our Days, &c. Lond.* 1581."

[2] Camden, in his *Annals of Elizabeth*, ed. 1625-29, Book iii. p. 192, says: "One William Stafford, a young gentleman, and apt to conceive strange hopes, whose mother was one of the ladies of honour, and his brother Leger in France."

[3] Jan. 7. 7. Confession of Leonard des Trappes, concerning the causes of his conspiring with M. De Bellievre, the French Ambassador, and *Mr Stafford*, to kill the Queen, and the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.

Jan. 9. 10. "Micaell Modye his confession in the afternone the 9 January 1586." Touching his conferences with Des Trappes and the French Ambassador for taking away the life of Queen Elizabeth, either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian devise.

Jan. 11. 15. "The true foundation and manner of the horrible treason," or *William Stafford's* account of his dealings with Mons. Bellievre, the French Ambassador, Des Trappes, his Secretary, and one Michael Modye, in a conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth. Conferences between *Stafford* and the Ambassador, Des Trappes introduced by *Stafford* to Modye in Newgate. Discussion whether to kill the Queen by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder where she lieth. Discovery of the whole plot, by *Stafford*, to Walsyngham.

Jan. 12. 16. Abstract of the above, with marginal notes in Burghley's hand.

Jan. 12. 17. Notes of the speeches between *Mr Stafford* and Des Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen.

Jan. 11. 18. Notes out of the confessions of Modye and Des Trappes relative to tue plot.

Jan. 14. 21. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, for the examination of Des

In 3 *Notes and Queries*, ix. 375-6, Mr B. W. Greenfield of Southampton partly followd Dr Farmer, and gave the following account of a William Stafford (2), who he said was the author of the *Briefe Conceipt of English Pollicy*. But he offerd no proof of the identity of the author with the man whose biography he gave. To me the tone of Stafford's book is not that of a man of twenty-seven, who afterwards 'became a hanger-on of the court;' and I think it very improbable—almost impossible—that Anthony Wood (who baggd every possible writer and known person as an Oxford man) or his editor would have left out the fact of William Stafford the author being a fellow of New College, Oxford[1], when he actually names him, and distinguishes him from the man and writer who was his son, according to Mr Greenfield. Till further evidence is produced, I do not accept Mr Greenfield's identification.

"This William Stafford was second son of Sir William Stafford of Chebsey, Knt. (a younger son of the house of Blatherwick), by his second wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, only son of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham. He was born, March 1, 1553-4, at Rocheford, Essex, an estate of the Boleyns which came to Sir William Stafford through his first wife, Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Ann Boleyn, and widow of William Cary, Esq. In 1564 he was admitted a scholar on the foundation at Winchester College (*Admissions Book, Winchester Coll.*). In 1571 he was matriculated

Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen, and for the examination of him out of Modye's confession.

Jan. 14. 22. Translation of the preceding interrogatories in French.

Jan. 14. 23. Notes out of the confession of Des Trappes, relative to the conspiracy to murder her Maiesty. [All these papers have been examin'd for me.]

1588, Aug. 14? 19. Certificate by the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the names of the prisoners in his custody, with the duration of their imprisonment, the Earl of Arundel, three years and four months, from the 1st of April, 1585: Secretary Wm. Davison, one year and six months, from Feb. 14, 1587. Sir Tho. Gerard, Thomas Abington, *William Stafford*, and others. [This is indorsed by Burghley "2 July 1588," but the dates clearly show it must have been in August. On the 14th of that month the Council directed a letter to Sir Owyn Hopton, Mr Daniel, Francis Bacon, and others, to command the keepers of all prisons to make a return of the names of the parties remaining under their several custodies for matters of recusancy, and to distinguish which of them were Jesuits or priests. Co Reg.] p. 531.

The only earlier mention of a Mr Stafford (not identifiable with ours) is,

1581, July 1. The Court. 62. Walsyngham to Burghley. Stay in *Mr Stafford's* suit. The strange guest (Don Antonio) had audience yesternight.

[1] Dr Sewell, the head of New College, does not know any tradition of the College Wm. Stafford having been an author.

a scholar of New College, Oxford, as a Probationary Fellow—not being of founder's kin;—in 1573 elected actual Fellow in Arts of New College, being then in his twentieth year of age; and in 1575 was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence of absenting himself from college beyond the prescribed time of absence (*Registers, New Coll.*). In 1581, was printed his[1] *Briefe Conceipte of English Policy*, in which work he 'acknowledges her maiesty's late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his undutiful misdemeaner.' His widowed mother, Lady Dorothy Stafford, being in immediate attendance upon the person of the Queen, as a lady of the bedchamber, he became a hanger-on of the court[2]; and his elder brother Edward,

[1] Why his? Where is the evidence?

[2] What is the authority for this statement as to our W. S., &c.?

P.S. Mr Greenfield has since been good enough to send me the following letter, dated *Cranbury Terrace, Southampton*, 25 *July*, 1876, which fails of course to identify our author with the William Stafford it describes:

"I know not whence Dr Bliss derived his authority for identifying the author 'W. S.' with *William Stafford*. But, accepting that assertion, I see no reason to doubt that he was a son of Lady Dorothy Stafford. The *internal* evidence in the '*compendium*'—which I have quoted in my article in *Notes and Queries*, viz. his ackowledgment of the Queen's *clemency towards him*, is strongly in favour of the author's being a hanger-on of the Court, and coupling this with all that I show respecting Lady Dorothy's son, William Stafford, as a *Winchester College Scholar* and *New College Fellow*, leaves little [? all imaginable] room for doubt on the subject. As to Anthony à Wood's silence, there is no force in it. Note, that à Wood is altogether silent about this William Stafford. What I have said about his Winchester and New College career is altogether new, and the result of my own research, and may be implicitly relied on as fact. To what I have said in *Notes and Queries* respecting his part in the proceedings of Des Trappes, I may further refer you to the *State Papers* in the P. R. O., *Domestic Series*, Vol. 197, No. 15, for January 1586-7, in which William Stafford identifies himself with the Stafford family [but not our book] and with the Court; for he writes, as his reason for desiring to go secretly into France, 'I was discontented upon some dislike which my Lord of Leicester had conceived of me, and that I had rather live there poorlie than remain here despised of so great a man.' The French ambassador, in his reply to Stafford, says, . . . 'but in any wise you must continue in your *brother's* favour lest you be suspected.' Here is direct allusion to his elder brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was, at the time, our *Ambassador to Paris*.

"I doubt whether Anthony à Wood knew who 'W. S.', the author of the *Compendium*, was. . . . [But his assertion is the only ground for trying to turn W. S. into Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.]

"Again, another reason for his omission in Wood's '*Fasti*' is that William Stafford does not appear to have been at Oxford long enough to have taken a University Degree. No *regularly* kept Register was extant at Oxford before 1574, which may further account for his omission by Anthony à Wood. My data are taken direct from Wykham's two Colleges at Winchester and Oxford."

in 1583, was knighted and sent as ambassador to the court of France.

"In January, 1586-7, he disclosed a plot against the queen's life, projected by Mons. Destrappes, a servant of the French ambassador (compare Harl. MSS. 36, f. 357, and 288, f. 170-1, with Camden's *Annals*, 8vo, 1630, pp. 105-6); but he was imprisoned in the Tower for the part he took therein; from whence, under date of March 19, 1588, he writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179).

"He presented to the library of Winchester College the following seven works[1]: firstly, on Aug. 22, 1601, *Concordantiæ Bibliorum*, being a concordance of the Holy Scriptures after the Latin Vulgate, fol. 1600, and '*The Common Places of Dr Peter Martyr*' translated by Anthonie Marten, one of the Sewers of hir Maiesties most honorable Privy Chamber,' fol. London 1574: secondly, on Feb. 21, 1609, a copy of *Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible*,—in compliance with the injunction of his mother, to whom it belonged, and who gave it to him at the time of her death, which happened on Sept. 22, 1604. This copy of the English translation of the Old and New Testaments, black-letter, fol. 1541, is in five parts, separately bound, in thin covers of vellum; and each part having a separate title-page, that of Part I only being wanting. On the outer sides of each cover is stamped, in gold lettering, 'Dorothie Stafforde.' At a sale, in August 1857, at Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson's, a complete copy of this edition of *Cranmer's Bible* sold for 90 *l.* Thirdly, on May 30, 1612, *A General Historie of the Netherlands*, by Edward Grimeston, fol. London, 1608. This and the two following works bear his autograph written on the title-page thus: 'W. Stafforde'—*A General Inventorie of the History of France to the Treaty of Vervins in* 1598, by Ihon de Serres; translated by Edward Grimeston, fol., London, 1607; *The General Historie of the Turks*, by Richard Knolles, fol., London, 1603; and *Tortura Torti* by Lancelot Andrews, D.D., Bishop of Ely (being an answer to the treatise of Cardinal Bellarmin on King James's *Defence of the Right of Kings*), 4to, London, 1609.

"About the year 1593 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Gryme of Antingham, Norfolk; after which time, he resided chiefly in Norfolk. He died on Nov. 16, 10 Jac. 1612 (*Inq. P. M.* 1 Car. p. 1, No. 97), leaving,—with a daughter Dorothy, who became the wife of Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, and ancestress of the Tyndales of Bathford, Somersetshire—an only son, William Stafford, who was born about Sept. 30, 1594; became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and was made M.A. March 5, 1617-8. On the death of his uncle, Sir John Stafford, Knt., *s.p.* in 1624, he succeeded to the estate of Marlwood Park, in Thornbury,

[1] Why didn't he present too his own tract, if he wrote the *Briefe Conceipt* in 1581?

Gloucestershire, under the limitations of the royal grant, dated June 5, 26 Eliz. 1584, of that property to Lady Dorothy Stafford for her life, with remainders: firstly to her younger son John, and his issue; then to her Son William, and his issue male; then to Sir Edward Stafford, Knt., her Son and heir apparent, and his issue male; then to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Dorothy (*Pat. Roll*, 26 *Eliz.* p. 16). He was the author of a little pamphlet, entitled '*Reasons of the War*, or an orderly and plain narration of the beginning and causes of the War, with a conscientious Resolution against the Parliament Side,' printed in 1644. The issue of this William Stafford became extinct in the male line on the death of his grandson Edward Stafford, Esq., *s.p.*, who died at Constantinople in August 1720. (*Decrees enrolled in Chancery*, 12 Geo. I. p. 39.) B. W. GREENFIELD, *Southampton*."

Stafford's tract was also reprinted in the ninth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

As to Stafford's rank or profession, he calls himself Gent[leman] on his title-page; and he elsewhere, as his Doctor, takes the character of a layman. If he was really one, we must admit that in his Doctor's last long speech, p. 91-7, he was speaking dramatically; for surely, only as a parson could he have there utterd what he does, or proposd a General Council, with a representative appointed for the Whore of Babylon (the Pope, p. 99), as the best means of settling the religious differences in England. He says but little of himself in his Dedication, p. 3-4 below. I can find no further trace[1] of him.

For bearing the cost of the present Reprint, the Society is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., and one of the Vice-Presidents of the New Shakspere Society. But Lord Derby is in no way responsible for the choice of the book, or any of the opinions expresst in the original edition or this Reprint. He was good enough to leave to me the application of his money gift; and he will not see the present edition till it is issued complete. In the name of all our Members I thank Lord Derby for his present to us. May other Members soon follow the example of him and Prince Leopold!

To my friend and colleague, Mr F. D. Matthew, for his valuable *Introduction*, and to my friend Miss Isabel Marshall, for her indexes, my thanks are hereby returnd.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 *St George's Sq., N.W., July* 10, 1876.

[1] I assume that he was not the 'Wm Stafford, B.D. 1537,' who 'was prior of the Dominicans at Stamford, and, with 8 friars, surrenderd that house to the King, 7 Oct. 1538.'—Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*

Extracts from Stowe as to the Rains and Dearth in 1594-5.

Stow's Annales, continued by Edm. Howes to 1614, ed. 1615, p. 768, col. 2 :

Great raynes.

(36 Eliz. A.D. 1594.) This yeare in the moneth of May, fell many great showres of rayne, but in the moneths of June and July, much more: for it commonlie rained euery day, or night, till S. *James* day, and 2 dayes after together most extreamely, all which notwithstanding, in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest, but in the moneth of September fell great raynes, which raised high Waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe Bridges, at Cambridge, Ware, and elsewhere, in many places. Also the price of grayne grew to bee such, as a strike or bushell of Rie was sold for 5.s., a bushell of Wheat for sixe, seauen, or eyght shillings, &c., for still it rose in price: which **dearth** happened (after the common opinion) more by meanes of ouermuch transporting, by our owne Marchants for their priuate gaine, than through the vnseasonablenesse of the weather passed.

Bridges at Cambridge and at Ware borne downe.

Price of graine greate, when God sends plenty.

1595. Dearth of corn & other victual.

This yeere, by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraine countries, the same was here growne to an excessiue price, as in some places from 14 shillings to 4 markes the quarter, and more, *as the poore did feele; for all things els, whatsoeuer was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason.* For remedie whereof, our marchants brought backe from Danske much Rie, and some Wheate (not of the best) but passing deare, yet serued the turne in such extremitie: Some prentises & other yoong people about the citie of London, *being pinched of their victuals more then they hadde beene accustomed*, tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same but three pence the pound, whereas the owners would have had 5 pence. For the which disorder, the sayd yoong men, on the twenty-seuen of June, were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment . . . . . .

Disordered youths punished.

Dearth of victuals.

In this time of **dearth** and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny,—or three egs for two pence at the most,—a pound of sweet butter for 7.d., and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price: such was our sins deseruing it.[1]

[1] The price of pepper, raisins, and wine, in 1598, we get from a passage on p. 786, col. 1 :—

An. reg. 40. Pepper 8.s. the pound.

This yeere, against Christmas, *Pepper* was solde at London for eight shillings the pounde, a matter then much noted . . . Also raysons was this yeare solde for six pence the pounde: Gascoine wine, two shillings eight pence the gallon, and sweete Wines for foure shillings the Gallon, &c.

ib. p. 782, col. 1. *An. reg.* 39. A.D. 1597. This Sommer, by reason of much rayne, and great floods, corne waxed scant, so as in London wheate was sould for tenne shillings a bushell, and Rye for six shillings, and Oate-meale at eight shillings a bushell. A Dearth of corne.

In this moneth of August, the price of Wheate at London fell from xiii shillings the bushell, to tenne shillings: Rie, from nine shillings to sixe shillings, and so to three shillings two pence; but then arose againe the late greatest price. Great prizes of bred Corne.

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p. xi. *William Stafford* (2), *Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.* The first letter from him among the Domestic State Papers is dated June 10, 1585, at Dieppe.

"Wm. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

"Pray stand my friend, and excuse me to my mother, who, though without cause, will be very angry with me for this sudden departure. I am now, as ever, at your command, and there is no other man living to whom I am beholden. If I should live to see my blood shed in your cause, I should think it but some recompence for the great good I have received at your hands." [Mrs Green's abstract.] Vol. of *Addenda*, Elizabeth, *Domestic State Papers*, p. 144.

In the first part of Stafford's confession, speaking of his conversation with Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador to England, and his (W. S.'s) desire to go to France, he says: "He promised me letters of credit to those who would do me good, but said I must continue in my brother's favour, lest I should be suspected."—*Ibid.* p. 200. That his brother was Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, appears from the account of the conference with the French Ambassador about the discovery of the plot, *ibid.* p. 200.

A letter from Henry Smith to his brother Thos. Wilks at the Hague, Jan. 26, 1587, speaks of the "new conspiracy discovered of late;" and goes on to say that "Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the Court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted."—*Ibid.* p. 203.

A letter from Wm. Stafford to Walsingham (making further disclosures), dated the Tower, 19th March, 1588, shows that Stafford was then still in prison (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179). A certificate by the Lieut. of the Tower, in August, 1588 (p. x, note, above), shows he was among the prisoners then.—*Ibid.* Vol. 215, 14 Aug. 1588.

In Stafford's confession or account of his dealings with the French Ambassador and others as to the plot, in conversation with Des Trappes, one of the plotters, the latter urges: "Mr Stafford, if yo*u* wold vndertake this matter, whoe live so discontentedlie as you doe, and not likelie anie way to enioye the favor and reward due vnto yo*ur* personne;" and goes on with the argument that he would gain the good will of all the Queen of Scots' allies, and a pension from the Pope.—*Ibid.* Vol. 197, 1587 (15), fo. 31.

From a list "of all such prisonners as remaine under my chardge and custodie," sent in by the Lieut. of the Tower. ?14 August, 1588.

"January 15, 1586. Willia*m* Staffoord & Mychaell Moodie gent. p*ri*sonn*er*s one yeare vij monthes for practising with the French ambassador."

William Stafford was connected with the Queen through his father's first wife, who was Mary Boleyn, sister to Anne Boleyn the Queen's mother.

INTRODUCTION

BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW, ESQ.

In all statements of grievances it is necessary to make allowance for exaggeration, and this tract is no exception to the rule. When we come to examine closely the troubles of the different states whose members take part in this dialogue, we do not discover any very substantial wrong. The general complaint is of 'dearth,' but dearth is used throughout only in the sense of high prices. The capper has to pay high wages; the merchant finds a rise in the goods he imports, and the gentleman in those he buys; while the husbandman suffers from enhanced rents, and from the high price of implements and clothing. In the discussion we find that the only one who has a distinct loss to show is the Knight; part of whose lands are still let on old leases, so that his income is not increased in proportion to the general advance. On the other hand we see evidence that at least a part of the community was thriving, since comforts and luxuries, formerly uncommon, were now widely sold and used (p. 51). The smaller conveniences of civilized life, such as glass, china, and earthenware, watches, and ornaments of all sorts, were in the hands of people whose fathers would not have dreamed of indulging in such extravagance.[1] Serving men were fewer, since the gentry no longer needed a private guard, but they were better fed and clothed than they had been (p. 64). More was spent than formerly on the building and adornment of houses, and on furniture and hangings (p. 66). Such signs of prosperity might be delusive. A splendid court and an extravagant nobility may exist among a struggling and impoverished people. But wages had risen, while provisions do not seem to have been high; at least in relation to other things. "These many yeares past," we are told, "we had Corne good cheape inough," and there was no scarcity of meat (p. 43).

In these complaints, where high prices and costly living are

[1] Compare Harrison's *England*, Book 2, chap. 12, p. 239, &c., N. Sh. Soc.

equally prominent grievances, we recognize a kind of talk familiar enough to our own ears. In our time the gold discoveries in Russia, America and Australia have raised prices and altered some relations. Persons with fixed incomes have suffered, and grumbling has not been confined to them, but is often to be heard from those who on the whole have benefited by the fall in the precious metals. A diminution in the exchangeable value of coin, such as has marked the past 40 years, was going on in the 16th century, and it must have been felt more painfully then than now; since, not only was there the disorganization and discomfort which accompanies all social changes, but there was also a positive loss to the country as the new state of things was forced upon it. For, in one point there is a great difference in the circumstances of England now and then. At present the mercantile position of England is such that the new gold has flowed from the producing countries direct to us, and through us to the rest of the world. In the 16th century, the first European country to receive the new treasure was Spain: thence it spread over the continent, and came at last to us, mostly through Flanders. Now it is evident that for purposes of international trade, the nearer you are to the source of new treasure, and the sooner prices rise, the better. If goods have gone up in Flanders while they are still at their old price in England, we must send over our cheap goods to buy their dear ones. In time, prices will find their level, but meanwhile we are trading at a loss.[1] This was the state of things in the 16th century, and the change in prices was accordingly worse for Englishmen then than it has been in the 19th.

There is one class of men whose spokesman would have been more welcome to us in this conversation than to the well-to-do and respectable company assembled at the vintner's. A shrewd representative of the country labourer might have had more solid grievance to dilate upon than any mentioned here. The inclosures which are so strongly blamed, while they were raising the value of the returns from the soil, were pressing hard upon the labourers and cottars. It must be remembered that inclosure was not exactly the same thing then as now. At present it means usually bringing into cultivation waste or rough pasture. At that time, although proprietary rights over land were well defined, yet the effects of the ancient holding in common were much more evident than in our day. In many places the small proprietor had his plots of land

[1] Compare the remarks of the Doctor on keeping down prices (p. 83).

scattered about the common, as they had been assigned to his ancestor. No hedges protected them from cattle; indeed it would have been as difficult to fence them as it would be now to do the same thing for the holdings of the French peasant (pp. 46 and 86). When the common was to be enclosed it was necessary to get rid of these tilled lands, and the lords of manors were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they accomplished this object.[1] Moreover, the peasant driven out of his holding found it difficult to get work for himself and his family; since the pastures employed but few hands, and ploughs were being laid down on every side (p. 16). Still it is not to be supposed that the results of inclosure were altogether bad. The large demand for wool and leather made grazing profitable, while the increase of stock raised largely the return of corn on the lands still under tillage; "one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do." It is easy to imagine that in many cases small bits of arable in the hands of a poor man who had no stock were an unprofitable possession, which he was not unwilling to sell to his wealthier neighbour. We may judge that the process, in spite of individual hardship, was on the whole beneficial, by our author's own words, "we see the countryes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre," &c. (p. 40).

When we come to Stafford's views as to the causes and remedies of existing evils, we find a curious mixture of acuteness and prejudice. Naturally enough he believed, as every one did then, that it is desirable to gather as much gold and silver into the realm as possible. He would gladly prevent its exportation, but is shrewd enough to recognize that no laws can prevent its going where it is most called for. On the currency he shows a sanity which is not to be met with in all modern writers on the subject. In pointing out how the debasement of the coin raised prices, and still more in his clear statement of the purpose of coinage (p. 60), his explanations are admirable. His comparison with the town-seal on cloth is true and to the point. But immediately afterwards we find him straying into doubtful paths, led away by his horror of paying foreigners for work that could be done at home. If we cannot sell only for hard cash, he thinks, we should at least

[1] Ergo ut unus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni, quidam suis etiam, aut circumscripti fraude aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem.—*Utopia*, lib. I.

get in return for our produce something of intrinsic value as to raw material. To pay foreigners for mere work, even though they do it better and cheaper than we could at home, is a waste of treasure. Worst of all is it when we sell to foreigners our raw material and buy it back manufactured. This discussion, besides being curious as an early statement of the theories which were to govern our mercantile legislation for more than two centuries, is interesting, as showing the advantage of a large scale of manufacture and a trained body of workmen, even before the introduction of machinery. Only superior skill and a more economical use of labour can have enabled the Flemings using our own wool to undersell us in our own markets. Stafford's proposal to neutralize their advantages by Customs duties, so as at once to lessen our most profitable trade and make our cloth dearer, seems in curious contrast to the sensible advice that he gives as to free trade in corn. But the contrast is only apparent: in both cases he is a shrewd empiric, trying a quick way to ends he desires. He is nearer the mark when he attributes our weakness in manufactures[1] to the narrow exclusiveness of the trade guilds. These bodies, which served a good purpose in their first growth, and which as yet showed no signs of the splendid uselessness that awaited them, were already tainted with the common vice of corporations; regarding as their first object the selfish interests of their members, so that in their care for monopoly they refused opportunities of improvement. The strangers who "were better workmen than were any in the town" received no welcome from a guild, which cared more for its privileges than the advancement of its craft; while close organization prevented the individual master from using the skill of the new comers to forward his private interest. The smaller the community the more fatal was this exclusiveness. Great cities like Ghent or Bruges might have activity enough in their staple trades to ensure advance and improvement, but a manufacture in the hands of a few monopolists must fall into routine and decay. It was here rather than in alteration of the Customs; in greater freedom, not in more restriction, that there was a chance for England to outstrip the continental manufacturers. When religious persecution drove its victims to our shores, they brought with them instruction, which far more than repaid the hospitality they received.

[1] It is to be noticed that he says that the French are better off for manufactures than we are (p. 70), and that he counts among the things which we *must* import, iron, steel, and salt.

One other point deserves notice as showing how this dialogue reflects the current thought of the time. When the husbandman is made to attribute the advance in prices to the gentlemen who "raise the price of their lands, and take pastures and farms into their hands," he is not speaking merely at random, or from the prejudices of his order, but giving utterance to a widespread opinion. Thus we find in Brinklow's *Complaint*: "This inordinate inhansing of rentys, which is sprong up within fewe yerys past, must nedys make all things deare, as well pertaynyng to the back as to the belly, to the most gret dammage of all the kyngs subjectys, landyd men only except. Yea, and evyn thei themselves were more welthyer whan their landys went at the old pryce. For why? Thei bye all things the dearer, &c."[1] What shows most the hold of this opinion is that the Doctor, who backs up the Knight in his reply to the husbandman on this point (p. 35), himself gives way to the same fancy later, when after ascribing the rise in prices to the debased coinage, he is posed by a reminder that the coin has been restored (p. 82). It is only then, and almost unconsciously, that for a moment he hits upon the true cause of the 'dearth'; "the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then ever our forefathers have sene in times past" (p. 82). Here, at agreement with him, I may leave Stafford to speak for himself. To call him a scientific economist would be extravagant; he was not two centuries in advance of his time; but his speculations are always acute, and in the course of them he tells us much of the England of his time.

[1] Brinklow's *Complaint*, p. 10.

A COMPENDIous or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, *of diuers of our country men* in these our dayes: which although they are in some part vniust & friuolous, yet are they all by vway of dialogues throughly debated & discussed.

By W. S.
Gentleman.

IMPRINTED
at London in Fleetstreate,
*neere vnto Saincte Dun*stones Church, by Thomas Marshe.

1581.

Cum Priuilegio.

[☞ *On the back of the original Title-page is a cut of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, of which my friend Mr G. E. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, has kindly given me the following blazon:* "*Quarterly,* 1*st and* 4*th, France, viz.* Azure, *three fleurs de lis,* or; 2*nd and* 3*rd, England, viz.* Gules, *three lions passant guardant, in pale,* or; *the whole surrounded with the Garter, surmounted with the Crown of England.*" *The letters* 'E. R.' *are placed underneath.*

I haven't thought it worth while to get either this or the elaborate frame-work of the original Title-page itself copied and cut. The present Title-border is therefore not a facsimile, but is made up of the ornament so frequently seen in Elizabethan books. The old initials in the tract are from those us'd in my Andrew Boorde *for the Early English Text Society.*—F. J. F.]

[1]TO THE MOST VER-

[1 This page is registered **]

tuous and learned Lady, my most
Deare and Soueraigne Princesse *ELI-*
ZABETH, by the Grace of God,
Queene of England, Fraunce, **and**
Ireland: Defendresse of the
Fayth. &c.

Hereas there was neuer anye thinge hearde of in any age past hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at some time, for some forged and surmysed matter, sustayned the reprehension of some enuious persons or other: I doe not much meruayle, most mighty Princesse, that in this your so noble & famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithstanding, certayne euill-disposed people, so blinded with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes; that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted by the testimonies of their owne consciences: so are they most certainely condempned by the common consent of all such as are wyse or indifferent. And although this be of itselfe so cleare and manyfest that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbeare (most renowmed soueraigne) being as it were inforced by your Maiesties late & singular clemency in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious goodnesse and bounty towardes me by exhibiting vnto you this small and simple present: wherein as I haue in[2]deuoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarells and obiections dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation

[2 leaf **, back]

thereof: proteſtinge alſo with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the diſcourſe of theſe matters heere diſputed, to define ought which may in any wiſe ſounde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge ſuch probability as I coulde, to ſtop the mouthes of certayne euill-affected perſons, which of their curioſity require farther ſatiſfaction in theſe matters, then can well ſtand with good modeſty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning towards your eſtate, I was earneſtly moued to vndertake this enterpriſe, and in the handlinge thereof rather content to ſhewe myſelfe vnſkilfull to others, then vnthankfull to you: ſo preſuminge of your auncient accuſtomed clemency, I was ſo bould to commit the ſame to your gracious protection, fully perſwading and aſſuring myſelf, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maieſties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a moſt rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the ſame. God preſerue your Maieſty with infinit increaſe of all his bleſſings beſtowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary courſe of Nature: that as you haue already ſufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to laſt withall poſterities: ſo you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may ſo be) of vs your louing ſubiects, and to the perfect eſtabliſhing of this floriſhing peace & tranquillity in your common weale for euer.

YOVR MAIESTIES
moſt faythfull and
louing Subiect
W. S.

[1]A Table of thynges

most notable contained

in this Booke.

[1 This leaf is registerd ⁂ij]

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FINIS.

A Briefe conceipte touching [Fol. 1]

THE COMMON WEALE *OF THIS REALME* OF ENGLAND.

ONSIDERING THE diuerſe and ſundry complaints of our countreimen in theſe our daies, touching the great alteration of this common wealth, within the compaſſe of theſe few yeres lately paſt, I thought good at this time to ſet downe ſuch probable diſcourſe for the occaſion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vttered by men of ſounde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one to whome the conſideration and reformation of the ſame doth eſpecially belong; yet, knowing my ſelfe to bee a Member of the ſame Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that poſſibly I may, I cannot recken and account my ſelfe a meere ſtraunger to this matter; no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might ſay, that becauſe he is not (percaſe) the maiſter or Pylate of the ſame, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, hauinge nowe ſuffycient leaſure from other buſineſſe, mee thought I coulde not apply my ſtudy to a better end then to publiſhe & make relation of ſuch matters as I haue hearde throughly diſputed herein.

No man is straunger to the common-weale he is in.

Firſt, what thinges men are moſt grieued with; than, what ſhould bee the occaſion of the ſame; And that knowne, how ſuch greues may bee taken away, and the ſtate of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well ſay, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that [1]haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Prouerbe is) ſometimes ſpeake to the purpoſe: and, as many heads, ſo many wittes; and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer ſo wyſe themſelues, (as our moſt excellent Prynce is,) yet the wiſer that they be, the moe counſellers they will haue, (as our noble and gratious Queene doth daily make choyſe of more,) for that that one cannot

[1 Fol. 1, back]

perceaue, another doth diſcouer; the giftes of wits be ſo diuerſe, that ſome excelles in Memory, ſome in Inuention, ſome in Iudgement, ſome at *the* firſt ſight ready, & ſome after long conſideration; & though each of theſe by them ſelues do not ſeuerally make perfit the matter, yet when euery man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all theſe (the beſt of euery mans deuiſe being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleaſaunt and perfect Garlonde, to adorne and Decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely haue learned men, whoſe Iudgements I would wyſhe to bee cheyfly eſteemed herein; but alſo Marchaunt men, Huſbandmen, & Artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyſe, freely ſuffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their Aduyſes in this matter. For ſome poynctes in their feates they may diſcloſe, that the wyſeſt in a Realme cannot vnfoulde againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible verity among all men, that euery man is to bee credited in that Arte that hee is moſt exercyſed in. For did not *Apelles*, that excellent Paynter, conſider, *that* when hee layde forth his fyne Image of *Venus* to bee ſeene of euery man *that* paſt by, to the intent, he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a myſſe in his worke, whoſe Cenſures hee allowed, ſo longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vppon them to meddle *with* an other mans Arte; ſo, percaſe, I may be aunſwered as hee was, yet I refuſe not that, if I paſſe [1] my compaſſe; but, for as much as moſt of this matter contayneth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a common weale, beinge a Member of Philoſophy moral, wherein I haue ſomewhat ſtudyed, I ſhall bee ſo bolde with my countreymen, who I doubt not will conſtrue euery thinge to the beſt, as to vtter my poore and ſimple conceipt herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and ſundry notable men that I haue hearde reaſon on this matter; and though I ſhould herein, percaſe, moue ſome thinges that were openlye not to bee touched, as in ſuch caſes of diſceptacion is requiſite, yet, hauinge reſpect to what ende they bee ſpoken, I truſt they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a ſoare that a man woulde not haue opened to his Phyſition, nor yet a ſurfet that a man woulde not declare the occaſion thereof. Therefore, now to goe to the matter, vppon boldneſſe of your good acceptation, that kinde of reaſoning ſeemeth to mee beſt for boultinge out of the

Of many heades is gathered a perfect counsell.

That euery man is to be credited in his owne arte.

[1 Fol 2]

Why the Booke is made by way of Dialogue.

truth, which is vſed by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reaſons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynſt it. I thought beſt to take that way in the diſcourſe of this matter, which is, firſt in recounting the common and vniuerſall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes; ſecondly, in boulting out the verye cauſes and occaſions of them; thirdly and finally, in deuiſinge of remedies for all the ſame. Therefore, I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betweene him & certayne other perſons of late, about this matter, which, becauſe it happened betwene ſuch perſons as were Members of euery ſtate *that* finde themſelues grieued now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderſtand that *the* perſons were theſe: A Knight, as I ſayde firſt, a Martchaunt man, a Doctor, a Huſbandman, and a Craftes man. And firſt, the Knight rehearſed *the* communication in this manner enſuinge:—

The summe of the whole Booke.

[Fol. 2, back]

THE FIRST DIA-LOGVE.

Knighte.

After I and my Fellowes, the Iuſtices of peace of this Comminalty, had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commiſſion touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to the enqueſt; I, being both weary of the heate of the people & noyſe of the ſame, thought to ſteale to a friendes houſe of myne in the towne, which ſelles Wyne, to the intent to eate a morſell of meate, for I was then faſting, taking with me an honeſt huſbandman, whom, for his honeſt and good diſcretion, I loued very well; whither, as we were comne, & had but ſkant ſit downe in a cloſe Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of eſtimation and ſubſtaunce, and requires the ſayde Huſbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) hee wil not, I truſt, now forſake my company, though he ſhould fare better with you.

Marchaunt. Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will ſend home for a paſty of Veniſon that I haue there, & for a friend of mine, and a neighbor, that I had bid to dinner, and wee ſhalbe ſo bolde as to make merry withall heere in your company; & as for my gueſt, hee is no ſtraunger vnto you neyther. And, therefore, both he of yours, & you of his company, I truſt wilbe the gladder.

Knight. Who is it?

Marchaunt. Doctor *Pandotheus.*

Knight. Is he ſo? on my fayth, he ſhalbe hartely welcome, for of him we ſhal haue ſome good communication and wiſe, for he is noted a learned and a wiſe man. And immediately *the* Marchaunt ſendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & bryn[1]geth wyth him an honeſt man, a Capper of the ſame towne, who came to ſpeake with the ſayd Marchaunt; than, after ſalutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maiſter Doctor, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce,

[1 Fol. 3]

which had bene longe before betweene vs, we ſat all downe; and when we had eate ſomewhat to ſatiſſie the ſharpneſſe of our ſtomackes,

On my fayth, quoth the Doctor to me, yee make much a doe, you that be Iuſtices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in ſitting vpon Commiſſions almoſt weekely, and in cauſinge poore men to appear before you, and leauinge theyr huſbandry vnlookte to at home. Doctor.

Surely it is ſo. Yet the prince muſt be ſerued, and the common-weale, for God and *the* prince haue not ſent vs the poore lyuinges that we haue, but to doe ſeruice therefore abrode amonges our Neyghbours. Knight.

It is well if yee take it ſo, for nature hath grafted that perſwaſion in you, and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, ſaying, we be not borne onely to our ſelues, but partely to the vſe of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Kinſſolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghboures; and, therefore, all good vertues are graffed in vs naturally, whoſe effects be to doe good to other, wherein we ſhewe forth *the* Image of God and man, whoſe property is euer to doe good to other, and to diſtribute his goodneſſe abrode, lyke no Nygarde nor enuyous of any. Other creatures, as they reſemble nothing of that godly Image, ſo they ſtudy no common vtility of other, but onely the conſeruation of them ſelues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned moſt vnlyke them, being moſt vyle, and lykeſt to God, being moſt excellent, let vs ſtudy to doe good to other, not preferring the eaſe of this Carkaſſe, which is like the Brute beaſtes, but rather the vertues of *the* minde, wherein we be lyke God him ſelfe. Doctor. Plato. Cicero. That men are not borne to themselues onely.

[1]Then, (ſayd *the* Huſbandman) for all your paynes, (meaning by me) & all oures alſo, I would yee had neuer worſe Commiſſions in hand then this is. So wee had loſt more dayes workes at our Huſbandry then this. Husband. [1 Fol. 3, back]

Why ſo? Knight.

Mary, for theſe Incloſures doe vndoe vs all; for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & cauſes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage; all is taken vp for Paſture; for Paſture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grafinge of Cattell; in ſo much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within leſſe compaſſe then fixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this ſeuen Husband. Complaynt of Incloſures by Husbandmen.

yeares; and where three ſcore perſons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the leaſt cauſe of former vprores; for, by theſe Incloſures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very neceſſity they are deſirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to ſomewhat, and well aſſured that howe ſo euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before; more ouer, all things are ſo deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaynt of dearth of vittayle by Artificers.

I haue well *the* experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they ſay they cannot ſufficiently liue thereon. And I know, for truth, that the beſt huſbande of them can ſaue but litle at the yeares end; and by reaſon of ſuch dearth as yee ſpeake of, wee, that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Prentizes, like as wee were wont to doe; and, therefore, Cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy (as yee know euery one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great pouerty and deſolation.

Marchaunt.

[1 Fol. 4]

Complaynt of tovvnes by Marchaunt men & of all other common easementes.

Many superfluous charges layde dovvne and yet neuer the more plenty.

Dearth of out vvarde Marchaundize.

So bee the moſt part of all *the* townes of England, Lon[1]don onely except; and not onely the good townes are ſore decayed in there Howſes, Walles, Streates, and other buildinges, but alſo the countrey in their high wayes & Brydges; for ſuch pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men haue ſo much to ſpare, as they may geue any thing to the reparation of ſuch wayes, brydges, and other common eaſements; and, albeit there bee many thinges layde downe now which before time were occaſions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wagers at ſhooting, wreſtling, running, and throwing the ſtone or barre, & beſides that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Offrings, and many ſuch other thinges, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthyer, but rather poorer; whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is ſuch a generall dearth of all things, as before .xx. or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges growinge within this Realme, but alſo of all other Marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Madder, Yron, Steele, Waxe, Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fuſtians, Worſteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearſes, & Tapeſtry, Spyces of all ſort; and al Haberdaſher ware, as Paper, both white & browne; Glaſſes, aſwell drinckinge and looking, as for glaſinge of Windowes; Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Dag-

gers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all theſe doe coſt nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe; than, all kinde of Victayle are as deere, or dearer agayne, & no cauſe of Gods parte thereof, as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer ſawe more plenty of Corne, graſſe, and Cattell of all ſortes, than wee haue at this preſent, and haue had (as yee know) all theſe twenty yeares paſſed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God; if theſe Incloſures were cauſe thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Dearth of all kinde of vittayle.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne & Cat[1]tell, (as yee ſay) then it ſhould not ſeeme this dearth ſhould be longe of theſe Incloſures, for it is not for ſcarceneſſe of Corne that yee haue this dearth, for, thanked bee God, Corne is good cheape, and ſo hath bene theſe many yeares paſt continually. Than it cannot bee the occaſion of the dearth of Cattell, for Incloſure is the thing that nouriſheth moſt of any other; yet I confeſſe there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my ſorte, feele moſt greiſe in, which haue no way to ſell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all three,—I meane you, my neyghbour the huſbandman, you, maiſter Mercer, and you, goodman Capper, with other Artificers,—may ſaue your ſelues meetely well. Foraſmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, ſo much doe you aryſe in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee ſell agayne. But we haue nothing to ſell, whereby we might aduaunce the pryce thereof to counterualue thoſe things that we muſt buy agayne.

Knighte.

[1 Fol. 4, back]

That inclosures be not the cause of this dearth.

That Gentlemen feele most griefe by this dearth.

Yes, yee rayſe the price of your Landes, and yee take Fermes alſo and paſtures to your hands (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings, ſuch as I am), and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

Husband.

On my ſoule, yee ſay truth (quoth the Marchaunte), and the Capper alſo ſayd no leſſe; adding thereto, that it was neuer merry with poore Crafts men ſince Gentlemen became Grafiers; for they cannot now a dayes (ſayde he) finde theyr Prentizes and ſeruauntes meate and drynke, but it coſt them almoſt double aſmuch as did before time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed rych men, and bene able to leaue honeſtly

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behynde them for theyr Wyfe and Children; and beſides *that*, leaue ſome notable bequeſtes for ſome good deede, as to *the* making of Brydges, & repayring of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Alſo, ſome were wont to buy Land, eyther for to helpe the poore beginners [1]of th'occupations, yea, ſome time they had ſuch ſuperfluity as they could ouer ſuch bequeſtes leaue an other Portion to finde a Pryſte, or to founde a Chauntry in ſome pariſhe Church; and now we are ſkant able to liue without debt, or to keepe few ſeruaunts, or none, except it be one Prentiz or two. And therefore the Iourneymen, what of our occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are *the* moſt parte of theſe rude people that maketh theſe vprores abrode, to the great diſquiet, not onely of the Queenes highnes, but alſo of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty.

[1 Fol. 5]

The craftesmans complaynt that he cannot set men a vvork for the Dearth of victayle.

Marchaunt. It is true, yee knowe likewiſe what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue doue in this City. Before this, yee knowe the hoſpitall at the townes ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded, not longe agoe, by one of our occupation, ſuppoſing therby *that* the city ſhould be much releaued, which then was in ſome decay; and yet it decayeth ſtill euery day more and more; whereof it ſhould be longe, I cannot well tell.

Knight. Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not without cauſe, ſo it is as true that I and my ſorte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea, and farre greater cauſe to complayne then any of you haue; for, as I ſayd, nowe that the pryces of thinges are ſo ryſen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do rayſe the pryce of your wares, as the priſes of vittayles, & other your neceſſaries doe ryſe; and ſo cannot we ſo much, for though it bee true that of ſuch landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchaſe, or by determination, and ending of ſuch termes of yeares, or other Eſtates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time paſt: I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vſed; or enhaunſe the rent thereof, being forced thereto for *the* charge of my houſholde that is ſo encreaſed ouer that it was; yet in all my [2]life time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande ſhall come to my diſpoſition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the ſame, but it ſhalbe in mens holding, either by leaſes, or by copy graunted before my time,

The Gentlemans complaynt hovv he cannot keepe lyke countenaunce as he vvas vvont to doe.

[2 Fol. 5, back]

and ſtill continuing, and yet like to continue in the ſame ſtate for the moſt part during my life, and percaſe my Sonnes; ſo as we cannot rayſe all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reaſon we did; and by reaſon that we cannot, ſo many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of *the* countrey of late, haue bene driuen to giue ouer our houſhoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court, vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a ſcore of cleane men in his houſe, and xx. or xxiiii. other perſons beſides, euery day in the weeke; and ſuch of vs as doe abide in the countrey ſtill, cannot with two hundreth li. a yeare keepe that houſe *that* we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares paſt. And thearefore we are forced, either to miniſhe the third part of our houſehoulde, or to raiſe the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot ſo doe of our owne landes, that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced, either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne poſſeſſion, or to purchaſe ſome Farme of other mens landes, and to ſtore it with ſheepe, or ſome other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our oulde eſtate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

Why Gentlemen doe geue ouer their housholdes.

Why Gentlemen doth take Farmes into their handes

Yea, thoſe ſheepe is the cauſe of all theſe miſchieues, for they haue driuen huſbandry out of the countrey, by *the* which was increaſed before all kinde of victuals; & now all togeether, ſheepe, ſheepe, ſheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely ſheepe ynough, but alſo Oxen, Kine, ſwyn, Pig, Gooſe, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheeſe; yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough, beſides, reared alltogether vpon the ſame lande.

Husband.

Complaint against sheepe.

Then the Doctor, *that* had leaned on his Elbowe all this [1] while muſing, ſat vp and ſayd, I perceaue by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iuſt cauſe to complaine.

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 6]

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of *the* church, which trauaile nothing for your lyuinge, and yet haue inough

Capper.

Yee ſay troth in dede, we haue leaſt cauſe to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not ſo plentious as we haue bene, the firſt fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuings; yet of the reſt we might liue well ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde & conſcience withall. And, albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee ſay,) yet yee

Doctor.

The Doctors complaynt for men of his calling.

know we labour with our mindes, more to the weaking of the ſame then by any other bodily exerciſe we ſhould do, as we may well perceue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and ſickely be our bodyes, & all for lacke of bodily exerciſe.

Capper. Mary, I woulde if I were of the Queenes counſell, prouide for you well a fine, ſo as you ſhould neede take no diſeaſe for lacke of exerciſe; I woulde ſet you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your ſtudies, but ſet men together by the Eares, ſome with this opinion, & ſome with that, ſome holding this way, & ſome an other; and that ſo ſtifly, as though the troth muſt be as they ſay, that haue the vpper hand in contention; & this contention is not alſo the leaſt cauſe of former vprores of the people, ſome holding of the one learning, & ſome of the other. In my minde it made no matter, though we had no learned men at all.

Complaynt against learned men.

Knight. God forbid, neighbour, that it ſhould be ſo; how ſhould the Prynce haue counſailers then; how ſhould we haue chriſtian religion taught vs; how ſhoul[d] we know the eſtats of other realmes, & haue[1] conferenc[e] with them of al contryes, except it were throug[h] learning, & by the benefit of Letters?

[1 orig. houe]

Doctor. Care not therefore, goodman capper; yee ſhall haue few ynough of learned men within a while, if this world hold on.

Capper. I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wryt & reade, yea, & to learne the languages vſed in countreies about vs, that we might write our mindes to them, & they to vs; yea, and that [2]wee might reade the holy ſcriptures in our mother tongue; & as for your preaching (except yee agree better), it made no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyuerſity thereof cometh theſe diuerſities of opinions.

[2 Fol. 6, back]

Doctor. Then yee care for no other ſciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte & reade; and ſo it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men ſendes their ſonnes to the Uniuerſities, they ſuffer them no longer to tary there, then they may haue a litle of the latin tongue; & then they take them away, & beſtow them to be Clarkes with ſome man of Lawe, or ſome Auditor and Receyuer, or to be a Secretary with ſome great man or other, and ſo to come to a lyuing, whereby the Uniuerſities be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occaſion that this Realme within a ſhorte ſpace will be made as empty of wiſe and pollitique

Why learning should be like to decay hereafter.

men, and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen shoulde not with our pollicy in warre, prouide that we come not in subiection of any other nation; and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will neuer suffer that, thoughe there were no learned men in the Realme at all. Knight.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not so muche won or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wisedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning; for wee see in all kindes of gouernaunce, for the most parte, the wyser sorte haue the soueraygnty ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in euery City *the* wisest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most learned, are moste commonly placed to gouerne the rest; yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and ciuile doe mayster the rest, thoughe their forces be inferior to the other. The Empyres of the Greekes & Romaines [1] doe declare that, among whom, like as learning and wisedome was most esteemed, so the Empyres were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And, why should you thinke it straung, that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time, that reckened themselues as stoute men as you be, yea, dwellers of this realme, as *the* Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Brytons by *the* Romaines fyrst of all. Doctor.

Whether a common vveale may be vvell gouerned vvithout learning.

[1 Fol. 7]

That the learned haue alvvay the soueraignty ouer the vnlearned.

There may bee wyse men ynough, though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerse men very wise & politique, that know neuer a letter on the booke; and contrary wise, as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had. Knighte.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyse men as yee speake of had learninge to their wits, they had bene more exellent. And the other, that yee call so simple, had bene foolyshe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyse in warres maketh not euery man meete to bee a Captayne, though hee trauayle in it neuer so longe; nor there is no other so apt for the warre, but with experience and vse he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wise than the younger sorte, but their greater experience? Doctor.

Whether a man may be vvyse vvithout learning.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men, I confesse. But what doth learning thereto? Knight.

Doctor.

If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubte not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth alſo help much to the increaſe of wiſedome; let *that*, then, be ſet for a ſure grounde that experience doth further wiſdome, & take it as it were *the* father of wiſedome, & memory to be *the* mother. For, like as experience doth beget wiſdome as a father, ſo memory nouriſheth it as a mother; for in vaine ſhoulde experience be had, if *the* ſame were not kept in remembraunce. Then if I can ſhew you that both expe[1]rience and alſo memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee muſt needes graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaſeth it; yee confeſſe the experience of an olde man maketh him wiſer than the younge, becauſe hee ſawe mo things then the other. But an olde man ſeeth but onely things of his owne time, & the learned man ſeeth not onely his owne times experience, but alſo that befell in a great many of his aunceſtors, yea, ſince the worlde began. Wherefore, he muſt needes haue more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age ſo euer he be, then ſo many caſes as he ſeeth in all that time to haue happened, coulde not ſo well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings; and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee ſawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe; where as *the* learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembraunce of that hee ſhould els forget. Therefore, as he that liueth a hundreth yeares muſt needes haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty[2], ſo hee that ſeeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thouſand yeres, muſt needes haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundreth. Alſo he that trauaileth many farre Countryes, hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his natiue countrey. So he that is learned, ſeeth by Coſmography[3], hyſtories, and other learnings, the right maner & vſage of euery countrey in the world, yea, of many moe then is poſſible for one man to trauayle through, and of theſe *that* he trauaileth much better, doth he learne there by ſmall taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and conſequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent; & now I am forced to conſider the maruaylous gyſtes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning ſupplyeth vn[4]to man the greateſt lack *that* ſome Wryters haue complayned of, to be

That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, & that experience is the father of Wysedome.

[1 Fol. 7, back]

[2 *orig.* fifty]

[3 *orig.* Cosmogragraphy]

[4 Fol. 8]

in man kinde, that is, the breuity of Age, the groſſeneſſe & wayght of body: where in the firſt, diuerſe beaſtes, as Hartes and many other, and in the laſt all Byrdes, doe excell man; for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundreth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditye of the life of a thowſand yeares; yea, two or three thowſandes, by reaſon hee ſeeth *the* euents and occurrents of all that time by Bookes. And if he ſhould haue liued him ſelfe by all that ſpace, then coulde he haue had nothinge els to his commodity, but that experience of things, the reſt had bene but trauayle; which experience he hath nowe by letters, and without any trauayle in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him ſelfe haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that ſpace. As to the other poynte, that wee be not ſo agill and light as fowles & Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might ſturre from on place to an other, wee haue the commodity through learning that wee ſhould purchaſe by ſuch Peregrinations, as well as wee ſhould if wee might flee from one Countrey to an other like Byrdes, and yet with leſſe trauayle and daunger. May wee not through Coſmography ſee the ſituation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in the Worlde, yea, better and with leſſe trauayle then if wee might flee ouer them our ſelues; for that that many other haue learned through their great trauayles & daungers, they haue left to vs to be learned with eaſe & pleaſure. Can wee not[1] allſo throughe the ſcience of Aſtronomy knowe the courſe of the Planettes aboue, and theyre coniunctions and Aſpectes, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them? yes, ſurely that wee may: for tell mee, how came all *the* learned men heare to ſore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof? came they not to it by conference & marking of circumſtances? (yes in deede), ſo *that* out of their writings we learned it; [2]and to the knowledge whereof by ſight onely wee could neuer attayne, though wee were as agill as any Byrde. What is there els profitable or neceſſary for the coniunct of mans life heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleate than any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his life? no not ſo much as your Feate in warre, ſir Knight, no, nor your Feate, good Huſbandman, but that either of them are ſo exactly taught and ſet forth in learning, as that neither of you, both though yee be neuer ſo perfect in the ſaid Feates but might learne many poyntes

The vvonderfull gyftes that vve haue by learning.

[1 *orig.* non]

[2 Fol. 8, back]

That there is no faculty but is made more perfect by learning.

moe than euer yee ſaw before, by experience in either of them, as you, ſir Knight, in *Vigetius*, and you, good Huſbandman, in *Columella*.

Knight. I ſay agayne, might wee not haue that in our Engliſh tongue, & reade them ouer, though we neuer went to ſchole?

Doctor. Yea, well ynough, and yet ſhoulde yee bee farre from the perfect vnderſtanding of them, except yee had the help of other ſciences, that is to ſay, of Arithmetique, in diſpoſinge and ordering your men; and Geometry, in deuiſing of Engines to winne Townes and Fortraſſes, & of Brydges to paſſe ouer, in the which *Cæſar* excelled other by reaſon of the learning that hee had in thoſe ſciences, and did wonderfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue done; and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towards what Coaſtes yee be Sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the length, by other ſtarres? and you, good huſband, for the perfection of the knoweledge of huſbandry, had neede of ſome knowledge in Aſtronomy, as vnder what aſpect of *the* Planets, and in the entry of what ſigne by the Sunne & Moone, it is time to Eare, to Dounge, to Sowe, to Reape, to Set, to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber; yea, to haue ſome iudgment of the Weather that is like to come, for Inning of your Corne and Graſſe, and houſeinge of your [1] Cattell; yea, of ſome part of Phiſick, called *Veterinaria*,[2] where by yee might knowe the diſeaſes of your Beaſtes, & heale them. Then, for true meaſuringe of lande, had yee not neede of ſome knowledge in Geometry, to bee a perfit huſband? Then for building, what Carpenter or Maſon is ſo cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of *vitruuius*, and other wryters of *Architecture*, that is to ſay, the ſcyence of building? and to paſſe ouer *the* ſciences of Logicke & Retorique, whereof *the* firſt trauayleth about *the* diſcuſcion of the true reaſon from *the* falſe, the other aboute *the* perſwaſion of *that* is to be ſet forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfit counſaylor might want neyther; well, tell mee what counſayl can bee perfit, what common weale can bee well ordered vprighte, where none of the Rulers or Counſaylors haue ſtudied any Philoſophy, ſpecially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of Phyloſophy I paſſe ouer now, which teacheth of natures, and is called phyſicke,) what part of the common weale is neglected by Phyloſophy morall? doth it not teache,

Hovv Cæsar excelled all other captaines by reason of his great learning ioyned vvith his provvesse.

[1 Fol. 9]
[2 orig. *Veterimaria*]

That knovvledge in moral philosophy is most necessary for Counsailor.

firſt, how euery man ſhoulde gouerne him ſelfe honeſtly; Secondly, how he ſhould guide his family wiſely and profitably? And thirdly, it ſheweth how a Cyty or a Realme, or any other common weale ſhould bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and alſo warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouerner, or Counſaylors, that ſhoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of; [if] men experte in this Science were conſulted and followed, the commen weale ſhoulde bee ordered, as fewe ſhould haue cauſe to complayne; therefore ſayd *Plato*, that diuine Philoſopher, that happy is that Commonweale where either *the* Prince is a Phyloſopher, or where a Philoſopher is the Prince. Plato.

I had weened before, that there had bene no other lear[1]ninge in the world, but that theſe men had, that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Phiſicke; whereof the firſt had all his cunning in Preaching, the ſecond in matters of the ſpirituall lawe, and the third in phiſicke, & in looking on diſeaſed mens water; mary, yee tell me now of many other ſciences, very neceſſary for euery common weale, which I neuer heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of theſe Doctors that can ſkill of them, or els they diſcloſe but litle of their cunning. Knight. [1 Fol. 5. back]

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can ſkill of theſe ſciences now a dayes, and of thoſe there be too fewe of them that are eſteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counſell. And therefore others, ſeeing theſe Sciences nothing eſteemed or ſet by, they fall to thoſe ſciences that they ſee in ſome pryce, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Phiſicke; though they cannot bee perfit in any of theſe, without the knowledge of the ſciences aboue touched; and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuerſities, that firſt men ſhould bee Bachelers and Maſters of Artes, ere they ſhould come to Diuinity; and theſe Artes bee the ſeuen liberall ſciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Muſicke, and Aſtronomy; and now they ſkip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchaſed them any iudgment through the foreſayd ſciences, which maketh them to fall to theſe diuerſities of Opinions that ye ſpeake of; for all beginners in euery ſcience be very quicke and ouer-haſty in geuing their iudgment of thinges (as expe

Doctor.

What maketh learned men to be so fevve.

Younge studients bee allvvaies ouer hasty in vttering their iudgments.

rience teacheth euery man); & then, when they haue once vttered their iudgmentes & opinions, they will ſee nothing that will ſounde contrary to the ſame, but eyther they will conſtrue it to their owne phantaſy, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. *Pythagoras*, to his ſcholers *that* came to learne his prophane ſciences, commaunded filence for ſeuen yeares, that by all *that* ſpace they ſhould be hearers onely, and no reaſoners: and [1]in this Diuine ſcience, euery Boye that hath not red ſcripture paſt halfe a yeare, ſhalbe ſuffered, not onely to reaſon and enquire of things (for that were tollerable), but to affirme newe and ſtraunge interpretacions vpon the ſame, neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is ſuffered? Alſo *Plato* forbad any man to come to his ſchoole that was ignoraunt in Geometry; and to this highe ſchoole of Dyuinity, he that knoweth not his Grammer, much leſſe any other ſcience, ſhall be admitted at the firſt; I ſay not to learne, for that might bee ſuffered, but to iudge; and there commeth in the thinge, that the ſame *Plato* ſayeth to bee an onely cauſe ſufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vſed, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne,—as youth, of thinges belonginge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, ſeruaunts ouer their maiſters, and priuate men ouer their Maieſtrates; what Ship can bee longe ſafe from wracke, where euery man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate? what houſe well gouerned, where euery ſeruaunt will bee a maiſter and a teacher? I ſpeake thus much of the commendation of learning, not onely becauſe I heard my freind heere (the Capper) ſet litle by learninge, but alſo that I ſee many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne *the* tongues; whom I can reſemble well to thoſe men that eſteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyrnell; wherefore, they ſeeme to take the bright Sunne from *the* Earth, that would take away learning from vs; for the ſame is no more neceſſary for the increaſe of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increaſe of Ciuility, Wiſedome, and Policy amonge men. And aſmuch as reaſonable men doe excell all other creatures by *the* gyft of Reaſon, ſo much excelleth a learned man [2]any other, through the poliſhing and adorning of Reaſon by theſe Scyences

Pythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for a time.

[1 Fol. 10]

Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in Geometry should enter his schoole.

What harme may come if they bee suffered to iudge in things to Whom it doth not appertayne.

That it is not learninge sufficient, to knowe the tongues, & to wryte.

[2 Fol. 10, back]

Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my company at this time, for of a wife man a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee fayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee fhould haue learned men few ynough within a while, if *the* world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what fhould be *the* caufe thereof? Knight.

I fhewed you all ready one great caufe of the fame; that was, where I fhewed you that moft men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write & reade; another caufe is, *that* they fee no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or eftimation geuen them, like as hath bene in time paft. But rather the contrary, *the* more learned, the more troubles, [1]loffes, & vexations they come vnto. Doctor. Why learning should decay.

God forbid! How fo? Knight.

Mary! haue you not feene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue ryfen in controuerfie? haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene fet forth, and who fo euer fayd againft that were put to trouble; and fhortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and fet forth, were not the other *that* profpered before, put to trouble, for faying their mindes againft this latter opinion? & fo neither of both parties efcaped, but eyther firft or laft hee came to bee hit, of whether fide foeuer hee were, except it were fome weatherwife fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as *the* more & ftronger part did chaunge theirs; and what were they that came to thefe troubles? the fingulareft fellowes of both parties; for there came no other to the concertacion of thefe things, but fuch, who feeing in fteede of honour and preferment, difhonour and hinderaunce, recompenfed for a reward of [1]learning; will any either put his childe to that fcience that may bring him no better fruite than this? or, what fcholer fhall haue any courrage to[2] ftudy to come to that ende? the rarity of fcholers and folitude of the Uniuerfities doe declare this to be truer then any man *with* fpeach can declare. Doctor. [1 Fol. 11] [2 orig. co]

Then, I perceaue euery man findeth himfelfe greeued at this time, & no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceaue. The Gentleman, that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely, as his father did before; the Artifficers cannot fet fo many a worke, by reafon all maner of Marchaunt. That euery state findeth himselfe greeued.

victayle is ſo deere; the Huſbandman, by reaſon his Lande is deerer rented then before; then we that bee Merchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer ſea; which great derth (I ſpeake in comparison of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a ſtay, euer after that baſeneſſe of our Engliſh Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng *Henry* the eyght.

[Debasing of our coin.]

Doctor. I doubt not, but if any ſorte of men haue licked themſelues whole, yee bee the ſame; for what oddes ſo euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Marchaunts can eſpy it ſtraight; for example, becauſe yee touched ſomewhat of *that* Coyne, as ſoone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunſed, yee by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde ſea; raked all the olde Coyne for *the* moſt parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, ſo as litle was leſte beehinde within this Realme of ſuch olde Coyne in a very ſhorte ſpace, which, in my Opynion,[1] is a great cauſe of this dearth *that* hath bene ſince of all things.

That Marchauntes best saue themselues in euery alteration.

Of our olde Coyne exhausted.

[1 *orig.* Oppnion]

Knight. How can *that* be? what maketh it to the matter what ſorte of Coyne we haue among our ſelues, ſo it be currant from one hand to another, yea, if it were made of Leather?

Doctor. Yea, ſo men commonly ſay, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reaſon, but alſo *the* [2]proofe & experience hath already declared the ſame; but nowe wee doe not reaſon of the cauſes of theſe griefes, but what ſtates of men bee grieued in deede by this dearth of things; and albeit I heare euery man finde him ſelfe grieued by it in one thinge or other, yet, conſidering *that* as many of them as haue wares to ſell, doe enhaunſe as much in *the* pryce of thinges that they ſell, as was enhaunſed before in the prices of things that they muſt buy; as the Marchaunt, if hee buy deere, hee will ſell deere againe; ſo theſe Artificers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers, haue reſpect large ynough in ſellinge their wares to the price of victayle, Wooll, & Iron, which they buy. I haue ſene a Cap for xiiii. pence, as good as I can get now for ii. ſhillings ſixe pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the price is ryſen. Now, a payre of ſhooes coſt twelue pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for ſixe pence. Now, I can get neuer a horſe ſhooed vnder ten pence or twelue pence, where I haue alſo ſeene the common pryce was ſixe pence. I cannot, therefore, vnderſtande that theſe men haue greateſt

[2 Fol. 11, back]

Whether it make any matter of vvhat mettall the Coyne bee made of.

[Rise in prices: Cap, 14*d.* to 30*d.*; shoes, 6*d.* to 12*s*; horse shod, 6*d.* to 10*d.* or 12*d.*]

greife by this common and vniuerſall dearth, but rather ſuch as haue their Lyuinges and Stypendes rated at a certaynty, as, common Laborers at eight pence a day, Iourneymen of all occupations, ſeruing men to forty ſhilings a yeare; and Gentlemen, whoſe landes are ſet out by them and their Aunceſtors, either for lyues or for terme of yeares, ſo as they cannot enhaunce *the* rentes thereof, though they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunſed to them of euery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince, of whom wee ſpeake nothing of all this while, as ſhe hath moſt of yearely Reuenewes, and that certayne, ſo ſhould ſhee haue moſte loſſe by this dearth, and by the alteration ſpecially of the Coyne; for, like as a man that hath a great number of ſeruaunts vnder him, if he would graunt that they ſhould pay him pinnes weekely, where before they payde him pence, [1] I thinke he ſhould be moſt looſer himſelfe; ſo wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge; the cleare gaynes commeth, for the moſt part, to the Prince. now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettinges in this baſe Coyne, I reporte me to you, wether *that* will go as farre as good Money in *the* Prouiſion of neceſſaries for her ſelfe and the Realme. I thinke plainely no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maieſties ſubiects; yea, ſince her Maieſty muſt haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges neceſſary, not onely for her graces houſhold, and Ornaments aſwel of her perſon and family as of her horſes, which percaſe might bee by her Grace ſomewhat moderated; but alſo for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be ſpared, as Armor of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele; (yea, I iudge farther) ſome Handgunnes, Gunne poulder, and many other thinges, moe then I can recken, which her Grace ſometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the ſtraungers will ſet them at. I paſſe ouer the enhaunſment of *the* charges of her Graces houſhoulde, which is common to her Grace with all other noble men; therefore, (I ſay,) her Maieſtie ſhould haue moſt loſſe by this common dearth of all other; and not onely loſſe, but daunger to the Realme and all her ſubiects, if her Grace ſhould want Treaſure to purchaſe the ſaide prouiſion and neceſſaries for warre, or to finde Souldiers

What men are moste pinched by this common Dearth.

That the Prince hath moste losse by this common Dearth.

[1 Fol. 12]

What daunger should it be to the Realme if the Prince should vvant Treasure in time of neede.

in time of neede, which passeth all the other priuate losses that wee speake of.

Capper. Wee heare say that the Queenes Maiestyes mint maketh vp her losses that way, by the gaines which she hath by the Mint an other way; and if that be to shorte, shee supplieth that lacke by Subsidies and impositions of her [1]Subiects, so as her Grace can haue no lacke, so longe as her Subiects haue it.

[1 Fol. 12, back]

Doctor. Yee say well there, 'so long as the Subiects haue it,' so it is meete the Queene shoulde haue, as long as they haue it; but what, and they haue it not? for they cannot haue it when there is no Treasure left within the Realme; and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to lose *the* profit that might growe thereof yearely; or to pull *the* wooll of his sheepe by the roote. And as for the Subsidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe with? & yet *that* way of gatheringe treasure is not allwayes most safe for the Prynces suerty; and wee see many times the profits of such Subsidies spent in the appeasing of the people that are mooued to sedition, partely by occasion of the same.

Howe the Queenes Maiesty cannot haue Treasure When her subiects haue none.

To vvhat profit the nevv Mint is like.

Knighte. Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with so wise a man as yee be, Maister Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with *the* whole discourse of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue enfearched the very sores and grieues that euery man feeleth, so to try out the causes of them; and *the* causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be soone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percase some of vs may come in place where wee may aduertise other of the same that might further and helpe forward the redresse of these thinges.

Doctor. A Gods name, I am content to bestowe this day to satisfie your pleasurs, & though this [2]communication (percase) should doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I trust, nor offend no man, sith it is had betwene vs heere, a parte, and in good maner.

[2 *orig.* cõumnication]

Knight. No, what man should be angry with him that were in an house, and espied some faulte in the Beames or Raf[3]ters of the same, and would enfearch the default, & then certifie the good man of the house thereof, or some other dwelling therein, aswell for his owne sauegarde as for others? but, forasmuch as wee haue thus farre proceeded, as to

[3 Fol. 13]

A recapitulation of the common griefes.

the findinge out of the griefes, which, as farre as I perceaue, ſtandeth in theſe poynctſ, (that is to ſay) dearth of all things in compariſon of the former age, (though there be ſcarſenes of nothinge), deſolation of Countryes by Incloſures, deſolation of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes; and diuiſion of Opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one againſt another. Now, let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vyne, where hauing a good, freſhe, and coole ſitting for vs in the ſhadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leaſure. And I will beſpeake our Supper here with myne hoſt, that wee may all ſuppe together. A Gods name! (quoth euery one of the reſt of the company), for wee are weary of ſitting here ſo long. And ſo wee all departed to the Garden.

[Evils: dearth, enclosures, lack of work, divisions in religion.]

[Fol. 13, back]

THE SECOND DIA-

logue, wherein the cauſes or

occaſions of the ſayd griefes are en-

creaſed

Knight.

Hen we had walked vp and downe in the ſayd Garden a prety whyle, I thought long till I had heard more of the ſayde Doctors communication; for hee ſeemed to mee a very wiſe man, not after *the* common ſort of theſe Clarkes, which can talke nothing but of the faculty that they profeſſe: as, if they be Deuines, of diuinity; Lawyers, of the lawe; & Phiſitions, of phiſicke onely; this man ſpake very naturally of euery thinge, as a man vniuerſally ſeene, that had ioyned good learning with good wit; and therefore I deſired him and the reſt of our ſaide companions, to reſorte againe to the matter that wee left at, and firſt to diſcourſe & ſearch out what ſhould be *the* cauſes of the ſaide common and vniuerſall dearth of all thinges (in compariſon of the former age), ſaying to *the* Doctor thus: I maruayle much, maiſter Doctor, what ſhould be the cauſe of this dearth, ſeeing all thinges are (thankes bee to God) ſo plentifull. There was neuer more plenty of Cattell then there is nowe of all ſortes; and yet there is ſcarſity of things which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous dearth, that in ſuch plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a maruaylous Dearth that commeth in time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be muſed vpon, and worthy of Inquiſition; let mee heare euery one of your opinions, and than yee ſhall heare myne.

Husband.

[1 Fol. 14] The occasion of this dearth is layde to the Gentleman

I thinke it is longe of you, Gentlemen, that this dearth [1] groweth, by reaſon yee enhaunſe your lands to ſuch a height, as men that liue thereon muſt needes ſell deare againe; or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

And I ſay it is long of you Huſbandmen, that wee are forced to rayſe our Rents, by reaſon wee muſt buy ſo deare all thinges that wee haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Gooſe, Pigge, Capon, Chiken, Butter and Egges. What thinge is there of all theſe but that yee ſell it nowe dearer by the one halfe then yee did within theſe xxx. yeares? Cannot you, Neighbour, remember, that within theſe xxx. yeres, I could in this towne buy the beſt Pigge or Gooſe that I could lay my hand on for foure pence, which now coſteth twelue pence; a good Capon for threepence or fourpence, a Chiken for i.d., a Hen for ii.d., which now coſteth mee double & triple the money? it is likewiſe in greater ware, as Biefe & Mutton.

Knight.

From the Gentlemen it is layde to the Husbandmen.

[Great rise in prices lately.]

I graunt that: but I ſay you & your ſorte, men of landes, are the firſt cauſe heereof, by reaſon you rayſe your landes.

Husband.

Well, if yee and your ſorte will agree thereto, *that* ſhalbee holpen; vndertake that you & your ſorte will ſell all thinges at the price yee did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette vnto you their landes at *the* rent they went at xxx. yeares paſt; and that the fault is more in you that bee Huſbandmen, then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this,—all the landes of the Realme are not enhaunſed, for ſome haue takings therein, as Leaſes, or Copies not yet expyred, which cannot bee enhaunſed though *the* owners would; and ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be at their diſpoſition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboue the olde rent, ſo as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme ſtand yet at the olde rent; and yet neuertheleſſe there is none of your ſorte at all, but ſelleth all things they haue, dearer then they were wont to doe by *the* one halfe. And yet theſe Gentlemen that doe enhaunſe their rentes, doe not enhaunſe it generally to the [1] double; though I confeſſe that ſome of vs that had landes either gieuen vs by the Kings highneſſe, *that* belonged heretofore to Abbeyes and Priories, and were neuer ſurueyed to the vttermoſt before, or otherwiſe deſcended to vs, haue enhaunſed any of them aboue the old rent, yet all *that* amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.

Knighte.

The Gentelemens excuse and resonable offer.

[1 Fol. 14, back]

How ſay yee? hee ſayeth well to you nowe; will yee ſell your wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accuſtomed to haue it. When the huſbandman had pawſed a while, hee ſayd:

Doctor.

Husband. If I had the price of euery thing that I muſt pay for beſides likewiſe brought downe, I could be content; els not.

Doctor. What thinges bee thoſe?

Husband. Mary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for our ſheepe; ſhooes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meany, which if I ſhould buy, neuertheleſſe, as deare as I doe nowe, and yet ſell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforeſayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

The husbandman refuseth, and putteth ouer the faulte to Iron Mongers, and clothiers.

Doctor. Then I perceaue yee muſt haue *the* pryce of other things qualified, as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape.

Husband. Yea, (but ſir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor. Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one aſſent agree, that theyr landes ſhould bee in theyr Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee ſayd afore yee coulde not yet ſell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares paſt, becauſe of the pryce that is rayſed in other thinges that yee muſt buy; and if ye would ſay that thoſe men ſhould be driuen againe to ſell thoſe wares that yee buy, firſt better cheape, and then yee will ſell yours thereafter, I pray you, how might they [1]be compelled to doe ſo? they be ſtraungers, and not within obedience of our ſoueraigne Lady, that doe ſell ſuch wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other; then conſider mee, if yee cannot ſo compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to ſuffer ſtraungers to ſell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape; if it were ſo, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impoueriſhinge of our owne; for they ſhould haue much Treaſure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very litle; except yee could deuiſe to make one pryce of our commodities among our ſelues, and another outwardes, which I cannot ſee how it may bee?

[1 Fol. 15] If all Landes vvere abated in their rent, vvhether this dearth vvoulde be remedied.

That it vvere not expedient that straungers should sel deere and vvee ours good cheape.

Knight. Nay, I will make my Neighbour heere another reaſonable offer, if hee refuſe this: let my Tenauntes rent bee increaſed as your payment is increaſed after the rate, and yet I am contented.

A nother offer of the Gentleman made to the Husbandman.

Husband. What meane yee by that?

Knighte. I meane this: yee ſell that yee were wont to ſell a foretime for

xx. groates, now for xxx.; let my rent bee increaſed after that proportion and rate, that is, for euery xx. groates of olde rente, x. ſhillinges, and ſo as the pryce of your wares riſeth; and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde ſtent.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde but vi. poundes xiii. ſhillinges iiii.d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely; yee can require no more of mee. Husband.

I cannot much ſay agaynſt that; but yet I perceaue I ſhallbe ſtill a loſer by that bargayne, though I cannot tell *the* reaſon why; but I perceiue yee ſell dearer, that yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing; helpe mee, mayſter Docter, I pray you, for the Huſbandman driueth mee to the Wall. Knight.

Mary, but mee thinketh, touching the matter yee did reaſon of, you draue him to his ſhiftes; that is, to confeſſe that this dearth riſeth not at your hand. And, though hee doe de[1]fend him ſelfe for his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee ſeemeth to *con*feſſe thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe to reſtrayne him, but hee may ſell his wares as deere as he liſteth. It is enough for your purpoſe, that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth roſe not firſt at your hande; but, whether (the pryces of thinges increaſing as they doe) it were reaſon yee did rayſe your wares (which is your lande), or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did ſette your land; if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouiſion after the newe rate, wee will talke of that hereafter; or, let *tha*t bee conſidered of other wiſe men; but now let vs ſee, if the Huſbandman were forced to ſell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges ſhould bee well then. Our Engliſhe Coyne being ſuppoſed to be baſe, and of no ſuch eſtimation in other countreies as within our owne Realme, (as for the moſt parte it hath beene) before that it was reſtored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth; put the caſe this, *tha*t this huſbandman ſhould bee co*m*maunded to ſell his wheate at viii.d. the buſhell, Rye at vi.d., Barely at iiii.d., his pig and gooſe at iiii.d., his capon at iiii.d., his Henne at i.d. ob.; his Wooll at a marke the Todde; Biefes and Muttons after the olde pryces in time paſt haue beene; hee hath then enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time paſt; his Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to haue; and the ſame when the price is ſo ſet, will goe as far for the

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 15, back]

Whether if the Husbandman vvere forced to abate the prices of his stuffe, this dea[r]th should be thes mended.

[Even if the Husbandman were orderd to sell at old prices and the Landlord to take his old rent,

ſayd wares, whereof *the* pryces be thus ſet as ſo much of olde Coine, paide after the olde wont would haue done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither Lord nor Tenaunte grieued; well, let us goe farther: The Huſbandman muſt buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch; and ſuppoſe hee ſhould bee alſo forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth, both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather, were ſet after the rate. The Gentleman muſt buy Wynes, Spyces, Sil[1]kes, Armour, Glaſſe to glaze his houſe withall; Iron alſo for Tooles, Weapones, and other Inſtruments neceſſary, as Salt, Oyles, & many other diuerſe thinges, more then I can recken without ſu*m*me; whereof they may in no wiſe want, as Iron & Salt, for of that which is within *the* realme of both, is not halfe ſufficient for the ſame; Oyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all; and without ſome other of the ſaid commodities wee could liue but groſly and Barbarouſly, as without Wynes, Spyces, & Silkes, theſe muſt be brought from beyonde the Seas; ſhall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes; for when ſtraungers ſhould ſee that with leſſe money then they were wont to take for theſe wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the leſſe money when it goeth as farre as *the* more went before, and ſo ſell their wares as good cheape; (as for an example) if they ſell now a yard of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s., and pay that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to ſell their Veluet at a marke a yard, ſo they had a Todde of Wooll for a marke?

[1 Fol. 16] could foreign wines, glass for windows, &c.'

be bought at like low prices?]

Knighte. I would thinke ſo, for thereby hee ſhould be at no more loſſe then hee is now. And ſo the like reaſon may ſerue for Iro*n*, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Waxe, and all other outwarde commodities.

Doctor. If I ſhould aſke you this queſtion, whether they ſhould bee compelled by a lawe to ſell theyr wares ſo or no, what could yee ſay?

Knight. It maketh no matter whether it were ſo or no; & I think they cannot, becauſe they be out of the Princes Dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or no; but ſeeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they ſell for leſſe money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and ſell them ſo.

[1]Thereof I doubt, vpon the former ſuppoſition of our baſe Coyne; for I thinke they would ſell ſtill at the higheſt as they doe now; or bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee muſt vnderſtand they come not alwayes for our commodities, but ſometimes to ſell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be beſt vendible, and to buy in other countreyes other commodities, where the ſame is beſt cheape; and ſome times to ſell in one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there moſt deſired, and to goe to ſome other parte of the realme, for the commodities that be there moſt abundaunt and beſt cheape, or partly of our Countrey & partly of another; and for *that* purpoſe Coyne vniuerſally currant is moſt commodious, ſpecially if they entend to beſtowe it in any other place, then where they were vnladen of their marchaundize. Now, if our coyne were not ſo alowed in other places as it is heere, *the* ſtraunger ſhould be at greater loſſes if he ſhould take our coyne for his wares, ſo as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might beſtowe when and where he liſt. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not ſtudy to bring vs ſuch wares or ſtuffe as ſhould be beſt cheape with them and moſt deare with vs.

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 16, back]

The straungers vvill take but money currant euery Where for thir vvare that they haue on their charge.

Yea, no doubt that is the policy of all Marchaunts. Knight.

What ſtuffe is that, trowe you? Doctor.

Mary, Glaſſes of all ſortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Orenges, Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and ſuch like tryfles. Knighte.

Yee ſay well, they will percaſe attempt vs with ſuch & ſuch thinges as are good cheape with them; it coſteth but their labours onely, and their peoples, which els ſhould be idle; yet theſe thinges be ſome what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Hempe, Flaxe, and ſuch other, ſuch light wares as yee ſpeake of will not be deſired heere, [2]but reiected, and theſe other looked for. what other things els will they bring, trowe you? Doctor.

That straungers and all Marchauntes bring thinges that bee best chape to them, and deerest vvith vs.

[2 Fol. 17]

Percaſe yee meane Silkes, Wynes, and Spyces? Knight.

No, not that, for thoſe bee in good price els where. Doctor.

What, then, ſhould they haue to vtter to vs, that is beſt cheape with them and deereſt with vs? Knight.

Braſſe, for it ſhould go *with* them but for Braſſe in dede, and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for Doctor.

Siluer, and therefore deere with vs; and *that* they would bringe vnto vs.

Knight. How? in braſſe Pots, Panes, and other Veſſel of Braſſe?

Doctor. Not ſo; no man would take ſuch Stuffe but for Braſſe in deede.

Knighte. How then? [1]Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde ſea, like in all thinges to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes; and when they ſee that eſteemed heere as ſiluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our Woolles, felles, Cheſe, Butter, Cloth, Tinne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will be glad to ſell for the moſt they can get; and beinge offered of ſtraungers more of our Coine then they may get within the countrey, they will ſell them to ſtraungers rather then vs, with whom the price is ſet; then ſtraungers may aforde *that* Coine good cheape, for they make it them ſelues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and ſo they will geeue thereof for our ſayde commodities, as much as yee will aſke. Then, though they made not ſuch Coyne themſelues, yet, ſeeing they muſt pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the ſtraungers muſt needes haue a conſideration of that in the price of *the* ſayd outwarde marchaundize that they ſell, & alſo holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauſte our cheife commodities, and gieue vs braſſe for them, where with wee cannot buy ſuch [2]other like neceſſary commodities againe as wee ſhoulde want, if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchaunge that *Homer* ſayeth *Glaucus* made with *Diomedes*, when he gaue to his man his golden Harneſſe for Braſen. But *the* other way they muſt needes bee brought to ſell theire wares deerer to vs, and then, if this huſbandeman and Gentleman, and ſo all other within this realme, ſhould be compelled to ſell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the Sea, I cannot ſee how they ſhould longe proſper; for I neuer knewe him that bought deere and ſould good cheape, and vſe it any long ſpace, to thriue.

[1] Doctor.

[Base coin made abroad, and exchangd for English goods.]

[2 Fol. 17, back. *Catch word* like o.]

Glauci & Diomedis permutatio.

He that selles good cheape and buieth deere shall not lightly thriue.

Knight. There may be ſearchers made for ſuch Coyners as yee ſpeake of, comming in, and puniſhments deuiſed therefore; and for goinge forth of Victayles alſo, that none ſhall paſſe this Realme.

Doctor. There may be no deuiſe imagined ſo ſtronge, but that yee may bee deceaued in both thoſe points, as well in ſuch coyne brought in as in

victailes carled forth; for many heades will deuiſe many wayes to get any thinge by; & though wee bee enuyroned with a good Poole, (that is, the Sea,) yet there is to many Poſterns of it to gett out and in, vnwares of the maiſter. Whoſoeuer hath but a prety houſe, with any Family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maiſter of *the* houſe neuer ſo attentiue, yet ſomewhat ſhalbe purloined forth; much more out of ſuch a large Realme as this is, hauinge ſo many wayes and Poſterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if ſtraungers ſhoulde bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what ſhoulde let them to aduaunce *the* prices of theire wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them? and then ſhall wee be ſtill loſers, and they at the winning hand with vs, while they ſell deere and buy good cheape, and conſequently enrych themſelues and impoueriſhe vs. Yet had I leauer aduaunce our [1] wares in price as they aduaunce theirs (as wee nowe doe), thoughe ſome bee looſers thereby; but yet not ſo many as ſhould bee the other waye. And yet, what buſineſſe ſhoulde there bee in making of prices of euery trifle? for ſo it woulde bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaundemente; and therfore I cannot perceaue that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, & you good huſbandman); for if it roſe at either of your hands, ſo it might be remedied likewiſe at the ſame, by releaſing the thing againe at either of your handes that was *the* cauſe of this dearth. But if either you ſhould releaſe your rente, or you the price of your Victayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell ſtraungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I haue ſayde; and ſo longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuiſe a waye how to liue without them & they with out you), which I thinke impoſſible, or elſe to vſe exchaung of ware, for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde), as I reade in the time of *Homer* it was, and alſo the Ciuile lawe doth affirme *the* ſame, which were very comberſome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe, by the benifit of Coyne, a man may by thoſe tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

It is not possible to keepe our Treasure from going forth of the Realme, if it be in more estimation else vvhere.

[1 Fol. 18]

That the d[e]arth lose neither at the Gentleman nor Husbandmans hand.

Permutation of thinges before Coyne.

Husband. If neither the gentleman, nor I may remedy this matter, at wofe hands lieth it to bee holpen then?

Doctor. I will tell my mynde therein herafter; but firft let vs boulte out *the* caufe of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne what other thing fhould be the caufe thereof.

Capper. Mary! thefe Inc[l]ofures and great Paftures are a great caufe of the fame, Whereby men do turne the erable lande, [1]beinge a liuing for diuerfe poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand; and where both Corne of all forte, and alfo cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely fheepe. And in fteede of C. or CC. perfons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but three or foure Sheepherds, and the Maifter onely, that hath a liuing thereof.

[1 Fol. 18, back]

Complaynt against sheepemaisters.

Doctor. Yee touch a matter that is much to be confidered, albeit I take not that to bee onely *the* caufe of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of inclofing doe afmuch increafe in xxx. yeares to come as it hath done in xxx. yeares paft, it may come to *the* great defolation and weaking of the ftrenght of this realme, which is more to be feared then dearth, & I thinke it to bee *the* moft occafion of any thinge yee fpake yet, of thefe wilde & vnhappy vprores *that* hath bene among vs; for by reafon of thefe Inclofures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes fet a worke all a like, and therefore the people ftill increafinge, and their liuings diminifhing, it muft nedes come to paffe that a great part of *the* people fhalbe idle and lacke liuinge, for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they muft needes, whan they lacke, murmur agayne them *that* haue plenty, and fo ftirre thefe tumultes.

That Inclosures is the occasion of desolation & vveaking the povver of the Realme.

Knighte. Experience fhould feeme to proue playnely, that Inclofures fhould bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we fee *the* countryes where moft Inclofiers be, are moft wealthy, as Effex, Kent, Northhamptonfhyre, &c. And I haue hearde a Ciuilion once fay, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this faying), 'that which is poffeffed of many in common, is neglected of all'; & experience fheweth that Tenaunts in common be not fo good hufbandes as when euery man hath his parte in feueralty; alfo, I haue heard fay, that in the moft countreyes beyonde *the* Sea, they [2]knowe not what a common grounde meaneth.

Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.

Reasons to defend Inclosures [2 Fol. 19]

I meane not of all Inclofures, nor yet all commins, but onely of fuch Inclofures as turneth co*m*mon & erable fields into pafture, and violent Inclofures of commins without iuft recompence of them that haue right to commen therein; for if lande were feuerally enclofed, to the intent to continewe hufbandry thereon, and euery man that hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of *the* fame to himfelfe inclofed, I thinke, no harme, but rather good, fhould come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto; but yet it woulde not be fodaynely done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and fome refrefhing vppon the fayde co*m*mens, which if they were fodaynely thruft out from that commodity, might make a greate tumulte and a diforder in the commonweale; and percafe alfo, if men were fuffred to inclofe their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it ftill in tillage within a while after they woulde turne all to Pafture, as wee fee they doe nowe, too faft.

Doctor.

What kinde of Inclosures is hurtfull.

[Poor, without land.]

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwife, why fhould they not?

Knighte.

I can tel why they fhould not, wel ynough, for they may not purchafe the*m*felues profit by *tha*t which may be hurtfull to other; but how to bring them *tha*t they would not fo doe, is al the matter; for fo long as they finde more profit by pafture then by tillage, they will ftill inclofe and turne erable land to paftures. (q*uoth* the *Knight*) That well may be reftrained by lawes, if it were thought moft profitable for *the* common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

Doctor.

Whether that vvhich is profitable to one may be profitable to all other if they vse the same feate.

Knight.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein, fo many as haue profit by that matter refifting it. And if fuch a lawe were made, yet men, ftudying ftill of there moft profit, woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

Doctor.

[1] I haue heard oftentymes much reafoning in this matter, and fome, in maintenaunce of thefe Inclofures, would make this reafon: euery m[a]n is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercife the fame feate. Therefore, that which is profitable to mee, & fo to another, may be profitable to all, and fo to *the* whole co*m*monweale. as a greate Maffe of Treafure confifteth of many pence, and one peney added to another, and fo to the thirde and fourth, &c., maketh vp a

Knight.

[1 Fol. 19, back]

greate ſomme; ſo doth each man added one to anothere make vp the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor. That reaſon is good, adding ſome what more to it: true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himſelfe, ſo it be not preiud[i]cial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not otherwiſe; or elſe ſtealing or robbing, which percaſe is profitable to ſome men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit: but this feate of incloſinge is ſo, *that* where it is profitable to one man, it is preiudiciall to many; therefore I thinke that reaſon ſufficiently aunſwered.

[Enclosures profit one man, hurt many.]

Knight. Alſo, they will laye forth another Reaſon, ſaying, that *that* which is our owne *com*mondityes ſhould bee alwayes aduaunced as much as might be, and theſe ſheepes profit is one of the greateſt commodities wee haue; therfore it ought to bee aduaunced as high as it may bee.

Doctor. I coulde aunſwere that argument with the like reaſon as I did the other; true it is, we ought to aduaunce our owne commodity as much as wee can, ſo it bee not to as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or elſe, where as the breede of Coneyes, Deere, and ſuchlike, is a commodity of this Realme; yet, if wee ſhoulde turne all our erable grounde to nouriſhe that commodity, and giue vp the Plough, and all other commod[i]ties for it, it were a great folly.

Euery commodity muste bee aduaunced so as it be not preiudiciall to other greater commodities.

Knight. [1 Fol. 20] [1]They will ſay agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete for ſheepe.

Doctor. It is a very ill Grounde, but either it ſerueth to breed ſheepe or to feede them vppon; and if al that is meete either for the one [or other], were turned to the mayntenaunce of Sheepe, and none other thinge, where ſhall wee haue our other commodities growe?

Knighte. All cannot doe ſo, though ſome doe.

*D*octor. What ſhould let them all to do *that* wicn they ſee ſome do? yea, what ſhould better encourage them thereto, then to ſe them that do it be come notable riche men in ſhort time by *the* doing thereof? And then if euery man ſhould do ſo, one following the example of another, what ſhould enſew thereof, but a meere ſolitude and vtter deſolation of the whole realme, furniſhed onely with Sheepe and Sheepardes, in ſteed of good men, whereby it might be a pray to the enemyes *that* firſt would ſet vpon it? for then *the* ſheepe Mayſters & theire Sheepherds could make no reſiſtaunce to the contrary.

[If all grew Sheep instead of good Men, England would be the prey of her foes.]

Who can let them to make their moſt aduauntage of *that* which is their owne? Knight.

Yes, mary! men may not vſe their owne thinges to the damage of the commonweale; yet for all this that I ſee, it is a thinge moſt neceſſary to bee prouided for, yet I cannot perceue it ſhoulde bee the only cauſe of this dearth, for this Incloſinge and greate grafinge, if it were occaſion of that dearth of any thing, it muſte bee of Corne cheifly, and nowe theſe many yeares paſt we had Corne good cheape inough. And the dearth *that* was then moſt, was of cattell, as Biefes and Muttons; and the broode of theſe are rather increaſed then diminiſhed by Paſtures and incloſinges. Doctor.

No man may abuse his ovvn things to the preiudice of the common vveale.

Why ſhould men be then ſo much offended with theſe Incloſures? Knighte.

Yes, & not without great cauſe, for thoughe theſe many yeares paſt, through the great bounty of God, we haue had [1]much plenty of Corne whereby it hath beene good cheape, one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two moſt commonly were wont to do,—yet if theſe yeares had chaunſed to be but meanely fruitfull of Corne, (no doubt) we ſhould haue had a great dearth of Corne, as wee had of other thinges. And then it had bene, in a maner, an vndoing of the poore Commens. And if hereafter there ſhoulde chaunce any barren yeares of Corne to fall, wee ſhould bee aſſuered to finde as greate extremity in the price of Corne, from *that* it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And ſpecially if wee haue not ynough to ſerue within *the* Realme, which may happen hereafter, more likely then in time paſt, by reaſon that there is much lande ſince turned to paſture; for euery man will ſeeke where moſt aduauntage is, & they ſee there is moſt aduau*n*tage in grafing and breeding then in huſbandry and tillage, by a great deale. And ſo longe as it is ſo, the Paſture ſhall euer incroch vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary. Doctor.

[1 Fol. 20, back]

[The late large harvests have alone stopt the undoing of the poor.]

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied, then? Knight.

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Grafier and ſheepe maiſter is. Doctor.

How coulde that be done? Knighte.

Mary, I coniecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the deuiſes ſhall ſeeme at the firſt bluſh ſo diſpleaſaunt vnto you, ere yee conſider it throughly, that yee will reiect them ere yee examyne them; for we talke now to haue things good cheape; and then if I ſhould Doctor.

Hovv Inclosiers may be remedied vvithout constraint of lavvs.

mencion a meane *that* ſhould make ſome thinges deerer for the time, I ſhoulde bee anon reiected, as a man *that* ſpake againſt euery mans purpoſe.

Knighte. Yet, ſay your minde and ſpare not, and though your reaſon at the firſt ſeeme vnreaſonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reaſonable ende.

Doctor. Remember what we haue in hand to treate of, not how the prices of thinges onely may bee broughte downe; but [1] how theſe Incloſures may bee broken vp, and huſbandry more vſed; of the prices of thinges we ſhall ſpeake heere after. [Kn.] Wee wil remember well that.

[1 Fol. 21]

Knight. What maketh men to multiply paſtures & Incloſures gladly?

Doctor. Mary, the profit that groweth thereby.

Knighte. It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of theſe two thynges that I ſhall tell you, And yee ſhall make them as glad to exerciſe tillage as they doe nowe Paſtures.

Doctor. What be thoſe two thinges?

Knight. Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by *the* Paſtures as there groweth by *the* tillage, Or els make *that* there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Paſtures, and then I doubt not but tillage ſhall be aſwell cheriſhed of euery man as Paſture.

[Make grazing pay less, or tillage more.]

Doctor. And how may that be done?

Knight. Mary, the firſt way is to make *the* wooll to be of as baſe pryce to the breeders thereof as the Corne is; and *that* ſhallbe, if yee make a like reſtraint of it for paſſing ouer Sea, vnwrought, as yee make of Corne; another, is to increaſe *the* cuſtome of Wooll that paſſeth ouer vnwrought. And by that the price of it ſhalbe abated to the breeders, and yet *the* price ouer Sea ſhal be neuer the leſſe; but, that which is increaſed in the price thereof on ſtraungers, ſhall come to the Queenes highneſſe, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other ſubſidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of Woolles; now to the inhaunſinge of the price of corne, to be as good to *the* huſbandman as wooll ſhould be; and that might be brought to paſſe if yee wil let it haue as free paſſage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

That a like restraint of vvool shuld be made as is of Corne, or none to be sent ouer.

[Export of corn to be as free as that of wool.]

Marchaunt. By the firſt two wayes, men woulde ſend leſſe wooll ouer ſea then

they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes [1]cuſtome ſhould be dyminiſhed; by your latter way, the pryce of Corne ſhould be much enhaunſed, wherewith men would be much grieued. [1 Fol. 21, back]

I wot wel it would bee deere at the firſt, but if I can perſwade you that it were reaſonable, it were ſo; and that the ſame could bee no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuerſally, but greater profit to the ſame, then I thinke ye would be content it ſhoulde be ſo; and as touchinge the Queenes cuſtome, I will ſpeake afterwarde. Doctor.

I graunt, if yee could ſhewe me that. Marchaunt.

I will aſſay it, albeit the matter be ſomewhat intricate; and, as I ſhewed you before, at the firſt vew would diſpleaſe many; for they would ſay, 'woulde yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth enough els with out that? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape, if it may bee, it is deare enough already', and ſuch other like reaſons would bee ſayd. But now let the huſbandman anſwere ſuch againe: 'Haue not you Graſiers rayſed the price of your Woolles and Felles? and you Marchauntmen, Clothiers, and Cappers, rayſed the price of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double? Is it not as good reaſon, then, that wee ſhould raiſe the price of our Corne? what reaſon is it you ſhould bee at large, and we ſhould be reſtrayned? Eyther let vs all be reſtrayned together, or els let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may ſell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your Tallow, your Cheeſe, your Butter, and your Leather, (which ryſeth all by graſing) at your pleaſure, and for *the* deereſt peny yee can get for it; and wee ſhall not ſell out our Corne, except it bee at x d. the buſhel, or vnder, that is as much to ſay, as wee that be huſband men ſhall not ſell our ware, except it be for nothing, or for ſo litle as wee ſhall not be able to liue thereon.' Thinke you if the huſbandman here had ſpoke theſe wordes, that he did not ſpeake them ſomewhat [2]reaſonable? Doctor

Reasons vvhy the Husbandman should be at like liberty as other to sell his vvares.

[2 Fol. 22]

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye haue ſpoken in *the* matter more then I could doe my ſelfe, and yet nothing but that is moſt true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wiſt not what was the cauſe therof; many of vs ſawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but ſmall by the Plough, & therefore diuerſe of my Neighbours, that had in time paſt ſome two, ſome three, ſome four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe, ſome of them part, and ſome of them all their Teemes; Husband.

and turned either part or all their erable ground to Paſture, and there by haue waxed very riche men. And euery day ſome of vs incloſeth ſome part of his ground to Paſture; and were it not that our grounde lyeth in *the* common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke alſo our fieldes had bene encloſed, of common agreement of all the townesſhip, longe or this time. And to ſay *the* very truth, I, that haue encloſed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, ſheepe, ſwyne, geeſe, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde; Whereof, becauſe *the* price is ſomewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reaſon that many thinges doe belong to huſbandry which bee now ex[c]eedinge chargeable ouer they were in time paſt.

That by breeding the husband hath most cleare gaynes.

Capper. Though this reaſon of maiſter Doctors here doth pleaſe you well that be huſbandmen, yet it pleaſeth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy moſt both breade-corne and malt-corne for our peny; and whereas ye, maiſter doctor, ſay, that it were as good reaſon that the Huſbandman ſhould reyſe the price of his corne, and haue as free vent of the ſame ouer ſea, as we doe and haue of our wares, I cannot greately deny; but that yet I ſay that euery man hath neede of corne, but they haue not ſo much of other wares.

[1 Fol. 22, back] Doctor. [1]Therefore, the more neceſſary that corne is, the more be the men to be chearifhed that reareth it; for if they ſee there bee not ſo much profit in vſinge the plough as they ſee in other feates, thinke ye not that they will leaue that trade, and fall to another *that* they ſee more profitable? As yee may perceiue by the doings of this honeſt mans neighbours, which haue turned there erable lande to paſture, becauſe they ſee more profit by paſture then by tillage. Is it not an old ſaying in Latin, *Honos alit artes?* that is to ſay, profit or aduauncement nourifheth euery facultie; which ſayng is ſo true, that it is alowed by the common iudgement of al men. Wee muſt vnderſtand alſo, that all thinges that ſhould bee done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced, or to be conſtrayned by the ſtraight penalties of the lawe, but ſome ſo, and ſome either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be induſtrious in trauayle, or labour of body, or ſtudious to learne any ſcience or knowledge of the mynde? to theſe thinges they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured;

That profit aduaunceth all faculties.

Honos alit Artes.

if they that be induſtrious and paynefull, bee rewarded well for their paines; and bee ſuffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and ſo likewyſe they that be learned, be aduaunced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Learning; euery man will then ſtudy, either to bee induſtrious in bodely labour, or ſtudious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take theſe rewards from them, & go about to compell them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg the ground, or exerciſe any manuall art wherein is any paine? or who will aduenture ouer ſeaes for any Marchaundiſe, or vſe any facultie wherein any perill or daunger ſhould be, ſeing his reward ſhalbe no more then his that ſits ſtill? But yee wil percaſe aunſwere me, that all their reward ſhal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee muſt graunt me, that as if all theſe rewardes were taken from them, all theſe faculties muſt [1]decaie; ſo if part of that reward be miniſhed, the vſe of theſe faculties ſhall miniſh withall after the rate, and ſo they ſhal be the leſſe occupied, the leſſe they be rewarded & eſteemed. But now to our purpoſe: I thinke it more neceſſary to deuiſe a meane how huſbandry may be more occupied rather then leſſe; which I cannot perceiue how it may be brought to paſſe, but as men do ſe the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that ſome things in a common weale muſt be forced with paines, and ſome by rewards allured) may appeare by that which the wiſe and politique ſenatour *Tully* wryteth: ſaying, that it was the wordes of *Solon*, which was one of the ſeuen wyſe men of *Greece*, and of thoſe ſeuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things chiefely, that is, by reward and payne; of which words I gather, that men ſhould be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments; and to abſtaine from ill doinges by paines. Trowe you, if huſband men be not better chearyſhed or prouoked then they be to exerciſe the plough, but that in proceſſe of time, ſo many ploughes wil be layd downe, as I feare me there be all ready, that if one vnfruitefull yeare ſhall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in ſeuen yeares, we ſhould then not onely haue dearth, but alſo ſkarcenes of corne, that we ſhould be driuen to ſeeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it.

That some thinges are to be allured by rewardes, and some other with straighte paynes forced, in a common-Weale.

[1 Fol. 23]

The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any arte, the lesse it shalbe frequented.

Tullius in Ep. ad att

How would yee haue them better chearifhed to vſe the plough? Knight.

To let them haue more profit by it then they haue, & liberty to Doctor.

[Free Trade in Corn needed.]

ſell it at all times, & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but then (no doubt) the price of corne would riſe, ſpecially at *the* firſt, more then at length; yet *that* price would prouoke euerie man to ſet *the* plough in the grounde, to Till waſte grounds, yea, & to turne the lands *that* is now encloſed for paſture, to erable; for euery man will the gladder follow [1] that, wherein they ſee the more gaines; and thereby muſt nedes enſue, both greater plenty of corne within the realme, and alſo much treaſure ſhould be brought into the realme by reaſon thereof; And, beſides that, plenty of all other victuall encreaſed amonge vs.

[1 Fol. 23, back]

Knight. That would I faine heare you declare howe.

Doctor. Ye haue heard that by this free vent and ſale of corne, *the* huſbandmans profit is aduaunced; then it is ſhewed that euery man naturally will follow that wherein he ſees profit enſue; therefore men wil the gladder occupy huſbandry; & the more doe occupie huſbandry, the more plenty of Corne muſt nedes be; And *the* more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape; And alſo the more will be ſpared ouer *that* which ſhall ſuffice for the realme. And then, that may bee ſpared in a good yeare, ſhall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis neceſſary for vs. Then the more huſbandry there is occupied, the more vniuerſall breede ſhould be of all victuals of Neate, Sheepe, Swine, Geeſe, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens; for al theſe are reared much on corne.

Profit will make husband men more occupied. & there by more profit, and consequently better cheape of corne.

Knight. If men ſhoulde ſell, when a good ſeaſonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is ſerued, what ſhoulde wee doe if a barren yeare ſhoulde happen, when no ſtore of corne is left of the good yeare before?

Doctor. Fyrſt, ye muſte confider that men will bee ſure they will keepe inoughe to finde themſelues within the realme, ere they ſell any forth of the ſame; and hauing libertie to ſell at their pleaſure, doubte yee not but they had leuer ſell their corne two pence or three pence in a buſhell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in ſending it ouer, and ſell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge prouoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby muſt needes be great ſtore; [2] and though they did not ſo, but ſhould ſell ouer ſea all that they might ſpare ouer that

[Husbandmen sure to keep a stock of corn in hand.]

[2 Fol. 24]

ſerues the realme when *the* yere is plentiſull; yet, by reaſon that through the meanes aforeſaid moe Ploughes are ſet aworke then would ſuffice the Realme in a plentifull yeare; if a ſcarce yeare ſhould fal after, the corne of ſo many ploughes as in a good yeare would be more then enough in an vnfruitefull yeare, at the leaſte would be ſufficient to finde the Realme; & ſo ſhould *the* Realme be ſerued *with* enough of corne in a ſcarce yeare, & in a plentiful yere no more then inough, which might be ſold ouer for great treaſure or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yeare we ſeeke to haue but aſmuch as may ſuffice *the* Realme. Then if a ſcarſe yeare ſhould happen, we muſt needes lacke of our owne to ſerue, and ſhould be dryuen to buy from beyond the ſea; and then, if they were as enuious as wee bee, might not they ſay, when we requyred any corne of them, (that ſeing they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why ſhould they let vs haue any corne when wee haue ſcarſitie? Surely common reaſon would that one region ſhould helpe an other when it lackes; and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey ſhould haue all commodities; but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; & that *that* one countrey lacketh this yeare, another hath plenty thereof, commonly the ſame yeare, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and ſocietie to growe among all men the more. but here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our ſelues; & as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee liſt our ſelues. For though God is bountifull vnto vs, & ſends vs many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not liue without the commodities of others. And, for example, of Iron and Salte, though wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue [1]not the thirde parte to ſufficе the Realme, and that can in no wiſe be ſpared if yee wil occupy huſbandry; then tar, rozyn, pitch, Oyle, and ſteele, wee haue none at all; and for Wynes, ſpyces, lynnen cloth, ſilkes, & coloures, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility ſhould it be, as I deny not but many things wee might haue heere ſufficiently that wee buy now from beyond ſea, and many things wee might ſpare wholly; whereof, if time will ſerue, I ſhall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the firſt poynte I ſpake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring huſbandry vp, that is, by baſing *the*

[Free Trade in Corn would so increase the growth of corn, that we should have plenty even in a scarce year.

[God has ordaind that one country should help another.]

[We can't live without other countries' products,

[1 Fol. 24, back]

and we ought to exchange with them freely]

eſtimacion of wooll & felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may baſe any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunſing of a better commodity; but if both commodities may bee inhaunſed together, as by the laſt deuiſe I thinke they might be; I allowe that way better, neuertheleſſe, where as you (brother Mercer) ſhewed afore, that either by reſtraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne, or inhaunſing the cuſtome of wooll and other the ſayd commodities, till the price beſide the cuſtome of the ſayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion, *the* Quenes cuſtome ſhoulde bee diminiſhed; I thinke not ſo, for the one way, as much as ſhe ſhoulde haue for *the* more wooll at litle cuſtome ventred ouer, ſo much ſhould we haue for the leſſe wooll at a greater cuſtome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace ſhould loſe by her cuſtome of wooll, ſo much or more ſhould her grace winne by *the* cuſtome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuiſe, what, if they ſhould take place, we muſt doe, that is, if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee muſt ſpare many other things that we haue now from beyonde ſea, for wee muſt alwayes take heede that wee buy no more [1] of ſtraungers then we do ſell them, for ſo we ſhould impouerifh our ſelues and enrich them. For hee were no good huſband that had no other yerely reuenewes but of his huſbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he ſelles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might ſaue much by our treaſure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it; what number firſt of trifles comes hether from beyond the ſea that wee might either cleane ſpare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay ineſtimable treaſure euery yere, or els exchaunge ſubſtantiall wares and neceſſary for them, for the which we might receaue great treaſure. Of *the* which ſort I meane as well looking glaſſes as drinking, and alſo to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Inkehornes, Toothepickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Brouches, Agglettes, Buttons of ſilke & ſiluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thouſand like thinges that might either be cleane ſpared, or els made within the

Whether the Quee. custome should be diminished by restraint of vvoll vnvvrought.

[We must keep the balance of trade with foreigners equal.]

[1 Fol. 25]

Hovve straungers fetch from vs our great for very trifles.

[Foreign knicknacks that we could well do without, or make here.]

realme ſufficient for vs; and as for ſome thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and ſend it vs againe, whereby they ſet their people a worke, and doe exhauſte much treaſure out of this Realme: as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerſeis; of our felles they make Spaniſh ſkins, Gloues, and Girdels; of our Tinne, Saltſellers, Spoones, and Diſhes; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges; Paper both white and browne. What Treaſure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of Theſe thinges? and then for all together, it exceedes myne eſtimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues, then be made in *Fraunce* or in *Spayne;* nor Kerſie, but it muſt bee of *Flaunders* die; nor Cloth, but *French* or Fryſeadowe; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of *Venice* making, or Millen; nor Dagger, Swearde, [1]Knife or Gyrdle, but of ſpaniſh making, or ſome outward countrey, no, not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within theſe xl. yeares, when there were not of theſe Haberdaſhers that ſelles french or Millen Cappes, Glaſſes, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and ſuch thinges, not a doſen in all London; & now from the tower to Weſtminſter alonge, euery ſtreate is full of them, and their ſhoppes glitter and ſhyne of Glaſſes as well drynking as looking; yea, all maner of veſſell of the ſame ſtuffe,—paynted Cruſes, gaye Daggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels; that it is able to make any temperate man to gaſe on them and to buy ſomewhat, though it ſerue to no purpoſe neceſſarie. What neede they beyonde ſea to trauaile to *Perowe*, or ſuch farre countreies, or to trie out the ſandes of the ryuers of *Tagus* in *Spaine*, *pactolus* in *Aſia*, and *Ganges* in *India*, to get amonge them after much labour ſmall ſparkes of gold; or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they can of vile claie not farre ſought for, and of pryple[2] ſtones and Ferne rootes make good Golde and Siluer, more then a great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I thinke not ſo litle as a hundreth thouſand poundes a yeare is fetched of our Treaſure for thinges of no valure of themſelues, but onely for the labours of the workers of the ſame, which are ſet a worke all on our charges. What groſnes of wits be we of, that ſe it, and ſuffer ſuch a continual ſpoyl to be made of our good and treaſure by ſuch meanes! and ſpecially that will ſuffer our owne commodities to goe and ſet ſtraungers a worke, and then

Our delicacy in requiring straungers Wares.

[Foreign goods that are the fashion in England.]

[1 Fol. 25, back]

The encrease of haberdashers & mileners ouer they vvere vvont to be.

[Glittering glasses, &c., tempt buyers.]

Hovv the straungers finde an easyer vvay to get treasure by thinges of no value, then by any mynes of gould or siluer.

[2 pybble, pebble.]

[What asses we are, to spend £100,000 a year in foreign nonsenses!]

Hovv straungers finde their nation vvith our commodities, and on our costes.

to buy them againe at their handes; as of our Woll they make and die Kerſies, Friſeadowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde ſea, & bryng them hether to bee ſolde againe; wherein I pray you note what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne ſtuffe againe. Yea, for *the* ſtraungers cuſtome, for their worke[1]manſhippe and colours, and laſtely for the ſecond cuſtome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again; where as, by working the ſame within the realme, our owne now ſhould be ſet a worke at the charges of ſtraungers, the cuſtome ſhould be borne all by ſtraungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

[1 Fol. 26]

[Why don't we make up our own materials?]

Knight.

If yee ponder ſuch thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the ſame, yee ſpeake to litle by as much againe; but one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that though ſtraungers buy their woll deare, & pay twiſe cuſtome, that is, both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the ſame ſhalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that ſhould come, I would faine knowe.

[Foreign work, tho' doubly taxt, sells cheaper than ours does.]

Doctor.

Whether it come of our ſloth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes, which we Engliſhmen vſe, percaſe, more then other nations, I knowe not; yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countreymen for theſe wares, then to ſtraungers leſſe; for how litle gaines ſo euer goeth ouer, it is loſt to vs cleare; but how much ſo euer *the* gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all ſaued with in the Realme; and a like reaſon as you make now heere, Once a Booke-ſeller made mee, when I aſked him why we had not white and browne paper made within *the* realme, aſwell as they had made beyond the ſea? Then he aunſwered mee *that* there was paper made a while within *the* realme. At the laſt the man perceiued that made it, that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond *the* ſea, and ſo he was forced to lay downe making of paper; and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper becauſe it was made here; but I would eyther haue the paper ſtaied from comming in, or ſo burdened with cuſtome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape then ſtraungers might do [2]theires, the cuſtomes conſidered.

Why straungers may aforde vvares better cheape made by them, then vve may the same made here, & yet that it vvere better for vs to buy our ovvne though they vvere dearer.

[An English Paper-maker undersold by foreign paper imported.

The latter should have been heavily customd.]

[2 Fol. 26, back]

Knight.

There, ye ſpeake a thinge that the Queenes Atturney would not agree vnto; for if ſuch ware were made within the realme, then the

Queenes cuſtome ſhould be leſſe, by reaſon that litle or no ſuch wares ſhould come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Atturney did regard as well the profit that ſhould come after, as that which is preſent afore *the* eyes, hee would agree to this well inough; for, by this meanes, ineſtimable treaſure ſhould be ſaued within *the* realme; and then it could not growe to the profit of the ſubiects; but it muſt needes growe alſo to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the ſubiectes is the profit of the Queene; and in mine opinion they doe not beſte prouide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a preſente commoditie, but rather that *com*modity that may longeſt endure without griefe of her ſubiects. Doctor

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

You would haue a lawe made, that no ſuch ware ſhould be brought from beyond the ſea to be ſoulde heere, of ſuch things as could be made heere as wel as there. Knight.

Yea, forſooth! ſo would I wiſhe. Doctor.

I was once in a Parlyament, when ſuch a thinge was mooued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond ſea ſhould bee ſould heere within the Realme, and then it was aunſwered by a greate wiſe man, that it was to bee feared leaſt it touched the league made betwene *the* Princes highneſſe & ſome forraigne Prince; what thinke you, the*n*, would haue bene ſaid, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond ſea, ſhould haue bene ſould heere? Knight.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made vvith other Prynces.

I cannot tell, whether that ſhould touch the league or no, nor whether any ſuch league be: but I ſay to you, *that* I think it a maruaylous league that ſhoulde let vs to make lawes to binde our owne ſubiects, that might be profitable to them; [1] and if there were any ſuch league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which, being broken, ſhoulde doe vs good, & being kept, ſhould doe vs harme; and I ſuppoſe, that when wee enter any league, the ſame is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderaunce; wherefore, that league would not be eſteemed *that* might hinder our common weale. Doctor.

[1 Fol. 27]

No league is to be cherished that is not for the commonvveale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the ſea, that wares made within this realme ſhould not bee ſoulde there, as they made of late, when wee deuiſed a lawe that no Wynes ſhoulde bee caried hether in ſtraungers bottomes. Knighte.

Yet, ſhould they be enforced rather to diſſolue their law then we Doctor.

[English exports and imports.]

ours; for our ſtuffe is neceſſary for them *that* is made here: as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheeſe, pewter veſſel, &c. Theirs bee to vs, more to ſerue pleaſure then neceſſity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glaſſes, gally Pots, Dyalls, Orenges, Pippens, and Cheries; yee, their chieſe commodities might be better ſpared of vs then retayned of them: as wynes, ſilkes, ſpices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee woulde followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne, *that* I heard of it to do of late, heere in *the* Marches of Walles, called *Carmarthen*, when there came a certayne Veſſell thether out of *England*, all Laden with Appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne ſhoulde buy the ſayd Appells vpon a great payne, and ſo the Bote ſtoode ſo long in the Hauen without ſale or vent, till *the* Appells were putrified and loſt. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had ſtayed his ſale and vent? the Bayliffe aunſwered againe, that the ſayd veſſell came thether to fetch the beſt wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll; and in ſteede thereof hee ſhould leaue them in their countrey but appells, that ſhould be ſpent & waſted in leſſe then a weeke. And ſayd, 'bring vnto [1]vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof *the* countrey hath need, and yee ſhall be welcome at all times, & yee ſhall haue free vent and ſale thereof in our Porte': thinke yee that the cities of London, Southhampton, Briſtowe, Cheſter, and other moe, might they not learne a good leſſon of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they ſay, when ſhippes full of Orrenges, Pippens, or Cheries come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damozins, and ſtrawberries for them, they ſhoulde haue free exchaunge? and when they bring in Glaſſes, Puppets, Rattles, and ſuch like thinges, they ſhould haue like trifles for them, if any ſuch were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many; but if they come for our Woolles, for our Clothes, Kerſeyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea, our Golde and ſiluer, and ſuch ſubſtantiall and neceſſary thinges, let them bring in againe Flax, Tarre, Oyles, Fyſhe, & ſuch like. And not to vſe them as men doe litle Children, geue them an appell for the beſt Iewell *that* they haue about them. And thus wee are empouerifhed of our treaſure & chieſe commoditie, and cannot perceaue it; ſuch is the fineneſſe of ſtraungers wits and the groſnes of ours; yet it were more tollerable if wee did

A vworthy example to be followed in vsing of strangers.

[The Caermarthen Bayliff who refused to let English apples be exchang'd for Welsh friezes and wool.]

[1 Fol. 27, back]

[Why don't we imitate the Welshmen, and refuse to change our cloths and metals for foreign rattles, &c., but consent to do so for good flax, fish, &c.?]

no more but chearifhe their deuifes *that* be ftraungers; but we haue in times paft deuifed our felues many other wayes, to our owne impouerifhment, and to exhauft our treafure. And now I muft come to that thinge that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe caufe of all this dearth of thinges (in comparifon of former times) and of the manif[e]ft impouerifhinge of the Realme, and might in fhort time haue ben *that* deftruction of the fame, if it had not bene *the* rather remedied, that is, the bafing or rather the corrupting of our coyne & treafure; whereby we deuifed a way for the ftraungers, not only to buy our Gold and filuer for braffe, and to exhauft this realme of treafure; but alfo to buy our chiefe commodities [1]in maner for naught; yet it was thought this fhould haue beene a meane, not onely to bryng our treafure home, but to bring much of theirs; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, fo that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

Of the coyne, vvhat harme might haue grovvne of the alteration of it.

[The chief cause of all our evils is the debasing of our coin.]

[1 Fol. 28]

Forfooth, and fuch a Dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot perceaue what hinderance it fhould be to the realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne), feeing the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when it is ftricken with *the* Princes feale to be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of, yea, though it were but Leather or paper?

Knight.

[Coin may well be any metal, leather, or paper.]

You fay but as moft fort of men doe fay, and yet they bee farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not *con*fider the thinge groundly; for by that reafon God would neuer fend dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickely remedy it. As, if Corne were at a Crowne a bufhell, the Prince might prouide Crounes enowe for him felfe, and alfo his fubiects, made of braffe, to pay for the fame; and fo to make it as eafy for him and his fubiectes to pay a Crowne of fuch mettall for a bufhell, as it fhould be for them now to pay a penny for the fame; and as the pryce of Corne doth rife, the Prince might raife the eftimation of his coyne after the rate, and fo keepe the coyne alwayes at one eftate in deede, though in name it fhould feeme to rife. As for example, fuppofe Wheate this yeare to be at a grote a bufhell, & the next yeare at two grotes, the Prince might caufe the grote to be called viii.d.; and if the bufhel rofe to xii.d. the bufhel, he might raife the eftate of the grote to xii.d.; and fo whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaued among all men, or

Doctor.

[Argument against a currency not based on gold or silver.]

by enhaunſing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of eſtimation, the Prince might, if your reaſon were true, keepe alwaies not onely corne, but alſo all other victualls and neceſſaries for [1] mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they ſhould vary; but yee may ſee dayly by experience *the* co*n*trary hereunto, for wh*en* God ſendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperor nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne eaſe as for their ſubiectes; and might ſoone doe it, if your reaſon afore touched might take place; that is, if either they might make coyne of what eſtimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what ſu*m*me they would. Yet a man at the firſt bluſh woulde thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this eaſily, & make what coyne he would to be currant, and of what eſtimation it pleaſed him; but he that ſo thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderſtanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownce of ſiluer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer; by the grote of the firſt ſorte, the ſixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other ſorte is the twelfth part of an ownce of ſiluer vnderſtanded; and ſo there muſt be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe, though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is, a grote; we muſt conſider, though gould & ſiluer be the mettals co*m*monly wherein the coyne is ſtricken to be the tokens for exchaunge of thinges betwene man and man, yet it is the wares that are neceſſary for mans vſe, that are exchaunged indeede vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie & plenty of ſuch wares that makes the price thereof hier or baſer. And becauſe it were very combrous and chargeable to cary ſo much of the wares that we haue aboundance of, to exchaunge for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and alſo for that they could not be ca[2]ried ſo farre without periſhing of the ſame, nor proporcioned ſo eue*n*, as there ſhould be always neither more or leſſe brought of our wares the*n* were equiuale*n*t w*ith* other wares that we receiue; therefore were the mettalles of gold & ſiluer deuiſed as wares of litle weight, moſt in value, & leaſt combrous to cary, and leaſt ſubiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof;

[1 Fol. 28, back]

The substaunce and quantity is esteemed in coyne, & not the name

[Wares are the subject of exchange, tho' under the name of coin.]

[2 Fol. 29]

Aristo. lib. 5 Eth.

And may be cut and deuided in mofte pieces and portions, without any loffe, to bee as *the* mean in Wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuifed, neceffity would caufe vs to deuife *the* fame way againe. For, put *the* cafe there were no vfe of money amonge vs, but onely exchaunge of wares for wares, as fomtimes I do read hath ben; we might at a time haue fuch plenty of things in our realme, as, for example, of corne, wolles, & Felles, Cheefe & Butter, and fuch other commodities, as were fufficient for vs; and there fhoulde remaine with vs fuch great ftore that wee could not fpend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without perifhing. Would not we be glad to exchaunge that abundance of thinges *that* could not abyde the longe keeping, for fuch wares *that* woulde abyde the keeping? which we mighte exchaunge againe for fuch wares as I rehearfed, or any other as neceffary, when fcarfity of the fame fhould happen amonge vs. Yea, verely wee fhoulde ftudy to haue in that exchaunge fuch wares as would go in leaft romth, and continue longeft without perifhing, and be caried to and fro with leaft charge, & be moft currant at all times and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer[1] the thinges that be moft of that forte, I meane moft of value, moft light to be caried, longeft able to abide the keping, apteft to receiue any forme, marke, & mofte currant in all places, & moft eafely deuided into many pieces without loffe of the ftuffe? In fome of thefe poynts I confeffe precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in value or lightneffe of cariage; but, then, they may not be deuided [2]without perifhing of the fubftaunce; nor put agayne together after they be once deuided, nor many of them abide fo many daungers without perifhing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or ftampe eafely, nor be fo vniuerfally eftemed; therefore they be not fo meete for Inftruments of Exchaunge as Siluer and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtneffe of cariage might be. And, becaufe Gold and Siluer haue all thefe commodities in them, they are chofen by common affent of the whole world, that is knowen to be of any ciuility, to be inftruments of exchaunge to meafure all things by, moft apte to be either caried far or kepte in ftore to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchafe by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue moft neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchaunge of thinges, as I

That the necessity of mutual traffique and commodity of exchaung made Coyne to bee deuised.

Hom. F. de emptione & vendicatione. Li. I.

[1 *orig.* Siltuer]

Why Gold & siluer vvere the stuffe most meete for coine to bee stricken in.

[Precious stones not so fit.]

[2 Fol. 29, back]

Publica mensura. Aristo. Eth.

ſayd ſometime there was; ſet this caſe, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well ſpend in hys houſe in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it ſo longe, or till a deare or ſkarſe yeare ſhoulde come; and if he did, much of it ſhoulde periſh, or all; were it not wiſedome for him then to exchaunge the ouerplus of that corne, for ſome other ware that might be longer kept with out daunger of waſt, or deminiſhing, for *the* which he myghte at all times haue either Corne againe at his neede, or ſome other neceſſarie thinge? Yeas, no doubt, if there were no vſe of Siluer or Golde, he would haue Tinne, braſſe, or Leadde, or ſuch other like thing that would abide the keeping with leaſt detriment, and would deſire to haue that thinge moſt that were in leaſt weight, moſt in value, and in leaſte daunger of wearing or periſhing, & moſte vniuerſally receiued, wherein Gold and Siluer exceſſes all other mettalles.

[Convenience of a metallic currency.]

Knight. What makes theſe Mettalles to bee of more value then other?

Doctor. No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles, both [1] in pleaſure and vſe; partly the rarity of them.

[1 Fol. 30]

Knight. What be theſe qualities? If yee prayſe the Gold for his weight or plyablenes, Led doth excel it in theſe pointes; if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgementes (whoſe colour reſembleth *the* day lyght for his clereneſſe) paſſeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, becauſe it is furtheſt of ſeene in *the* Fielde, nor neuer ſeemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer ſo farre of; where all other ſhall ſeeme blacke farre of, and ſo looſe the ſtrengthe of theyr owne.

[The merits of Silver]

Doctor. As much as the Led approcheth the Golde in that point—I ſpeake of weight and pliablenes—it is caſt behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either paſſeth Siluer, by ſome other mens iudgementes, becauſe it reſembles the colour of the celeſtiall bodies, as the Sunne and Starres, being the moſt excellent thynges that commeth vnder the view of the bodely ſences of man; or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is eſteemed; well I wote Prynces blaſe their armes moſt with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the ſame, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of ſo wel, I cannot tel. But now to eſteeme theyr other qualityes: Golde is neuer waſted nor conſumed by fire; yea, the more it is burned the more puerer it is; which ye can ſay of none other mettalles. Then it weares not leſſe by occupying, it defyleth not the thing

Why Golde, & Syluer are esteemed afore al other mettalles.

it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a declaration that the ſtuffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruell that it ſhould draw ſo black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it ſelf. Then there is no ruſt nor ſcurfe *that* diminiſheth the goodnes or waſteth *the* ſubſtaunce of Gold; it abides *the* freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar *with*out damage, which weareth any other thing; it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde, as others require; it is Golde as ſoone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll, [1] as it were Woll; it is eaſily ſpred in leaues of maruailous thinnes; yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea, Stones and Timber; it is alſo nothinge inferiour in commodity of making veſſels or other Inſtrumentes to ſiluer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more ſweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approcheth Siluer in commenda[ti]ons, as in clennes, beauty, ſweetenes, and lightnes. And it ſerues not onely to make veſſels and other inſtruments, but it is alſo ſponne, but not without Woll, as Golde may bee, though they could not doe it aforetime, but with Gold onely, as I haue hearde; church Veſtures were made onely of Gold then, and now of late of this Siluer, being ſpon with ſilke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde exceſſe of clothe of Golde and tyſſue. Now to ſpeake of other mettalls, yee ſee what vſes they ſerue for, whych if theſe were away ſhould bee more eſteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye commends the ſayd mettals of Golde and Siluer yet more then this. For as they do excel in qualities, ſo Dame nature ſeemes to haue layde them vp in a further warde, then her other giftes, to ſhew vs that all fayre things be rare, and *that* the fayreſt thinges, as they be hardeſt to be attained, ſo they be moſt to be eſteemed. If a Glaſſe (as *Eraſmus* ſayth wel) were as rare as ſiluer, it ſhould be as deare as ſiluer, and not without cauſe; who could glaſe a Window with ſiluer ſo as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet neuertheleſſe receiue the commodity of the light through *the* ſame to his houſe, as with glaſſe he might? And ſo I might commend other things for their vſe afore Gold or Siluer, as Iron & ſteele, with whom yee may make better tooles for many neceſſary vſes then with Gold or Siluer; but for the vſes that we talke of, Siluer and Golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I paſſe ouer that matter. Thus I haue ſhewed ſome reaſon why theſe mettals of Golde & Syluer are growen in eſtimation aboue other.

[The merits of Gold over Silver.]

[1 Fol. 30, back]

[The uses of Silver.

It is now spun into Church vestments.]

[The scarceness of Gold and Silver makes them valuable.

Were Glass as scarce as silver, it 'ld be as dear.]

Knight.
[1 Fol. 31]

[1] Why doe Kynges and Princes ſtricke theſe mettalles and other with a Coyne? but becauſe they would haue that coyne, of what value ſo euer it be, to beare the eſtate that *the* coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettal that beareth that, to be neither better nor worſe in eſtimation. Then I had as liefe haue ſmal gadds or plats of Siluer and Gold, without any coyne at al to go abroade from man to man for exchaunge.

Why Golde & Siluer vvere coined.

Doctor.

Surely the time was ſo, (euen amonge the *Romaynes*, when neither braſſe, ſiluer, nor golde was coined;) but were eſteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth theſe vocables of coynes, as *Libra, Pondo, Dipondius*, as *Solidus, Denarius*, wordes of waightes, that afterward were geuen to coynes, pretending *the* ſame weights. Alſo the common officers that waighed theſe rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we haue mencion made in *the* Ciuile lawe; but, becauſe in great traffique & aſſembly of buyers, & ſuch, it was tedious to tary for *the* weighing of theſe Mettalles, and trying, it was thought good that the Princes ſhould ſtrike thoſe mettals with ſeueral markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to aſſure *the* Receiuor the ſame to be no leſſe then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they ſtrake *the* pounde weight with the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, and ſo after the variety of *the* weights of other pieces variable markes; whereby began the names of Coynes, ſo that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece; beinge aſſured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece contayned the weight that was ſignified by the marke ſet on euery one; the Prynces credite was then ſuch amonge their ſubiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As ſoone as they attempted to doe otherwiſe, that is, to marke the halfe pound with *the* marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, [2] a while their credite made thoſe coynes currant. As I read among *the Romaynes* practized more then once, but aſſoone as it was eſpied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then *the* one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the firſt, they loſt at the laſt in payment of their rentes, cuſtomes, and duties. And ſo the nearer Eaſt, the further from Weſt. And they conſequently loſt their credite; much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done

Plini lib. 33 Cap. 3.

Sometime brasse, siluer & Gold vvere vveighed before Coyne made.

Inst. de test. ord. §. 1.

[Coin markt to guarantee its weight.]

[2 Fol. 31, back]

Why losse commeth of credence.

which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to ſet their ſeales to the ſame; while they kept the rate truly, ſtraungers did but looke on the ſeale, and receaue theyr ware, wherby theſe townes had great vent of theyr clothes, and conſequently proſpered very well. Afterward, ſome in theſe townes, not contented with reaſonable gaines contynuall, and deſiering more, Deuiſed clothes of leſſe lengthe, bredth, and goodneſſe, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the ſeale to haue as much Money for the ſame as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and ſo abaſed the credite of theyr Predeceſſors to theyr ſinguler Luker, which was recompenced with the loſſe of theyr Poſterity. For after theſe Clothes were founde faulty, for all their ſeales, they were not onely neuer the better truſted, but much leſſe for theyr Seale, yea, though their Clothes were well made; for when theyr vntruth and falſhoode was eſpied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were enſearched and vnfoulded, regarding nothing the ſeale; and yet becauſe they founde them vntrue in ſome parte, they miſtruſted them in other; and ſo would geue leſſe for thoſe clothes then for any other lyke, hauing no Seales to the ſame, whereby the credite of the ſaid townes was loſt, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd yee not ſee that our Coyne was diſcredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King *Henry* [1]the eyghte, ſpecially among Straungers, whych euer before deſiered to ſerue vs afore all other Nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne? And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheeſe, Tynne, and Ledde; & where before time they were wont to brynge vs for the ſame, either good Golde or ſiluer, or els as neceſſary commodities agayne; then they ſent vs eyther ſuch trifles as I ſpake of before: as Glaſſes, gally Pots, tennice Balles, Papers, Gyrdels, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and ſuch light ware that ſtandeth them in no charge or vſe, or els (if it be true that I haue heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they ſent vs Braſſe for our Treaſure of Golde and ſiluer, and for our ſayd commodities; I warrant you, yee ſawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer vnto vs, as it was before vſed, & no maruayle; to what purpoſe ſhould they bring ſiluer or Golde thither, whereas the ſame was not eſteemed? Therefore, I haue heard ſay for a truth, and I beleeue it the rather to

[Some English towns stampt their full-measure cloths with a seal; and buyers bought by the seal only.]

[Then some scamps put the seal on short-measure cloths.]

[The cheat was found out, and then the seal discredited even good cloths.]

[1 Fol. 32]

[So our base coin was soon found out, and then foreigners 'ud only take our products, wool, cheese, tin, &c., in exchange for their glass, paper, buttons, &c.]

What doe strangers send vs for our Treasure & chiefe commodities?

[Debasd English coin imported from abroad.]

bee true, becauſe it is likely, that after that our Coyne was baſed and altered, Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde *the* meanes to haue greate Maſſes of that tranſported hether, and here vttered it well for our olde Golde and ſiluer, as alſo for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme if it were ſuffered, in a ſmall compaſſe of time?

Knight. There be ſearchers that myght let that matter well ynough, if they be true, both for ſtaying of ſuch falſe Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Doctor. I ſayd ſo to the man that tolde mee the ſame tale that I tolde you euen now. And he anſwered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer ſo true, as by putting of the ſayde Coyne in their ſhippes balaſt, or in ſome veſſelles of Wyne or other Lyquor, tranſpor[1]ted either vnto vs or from vs. then, euery Creake in this Realme hath not ſearchers; And if they had, they bee not ſuch ſaintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Beſides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, ſpecially of Golde, ſhould not be currant here aboue ſuch a pryce? was not that the redieſt way to driue away our golde from vs? euery thing will goe where it is moſt eſteemed, and therefore our treaſure went ouer in heapes.

Hovv our olde coyne may bee transported, & the Prince or her officers not knovving of it.

[1 Fol. 32, back]

We deuise the rediest vvay to driue avvay our treasure.

Knight. I belieue well, that theſe were meanes to exhauſt *the* olde treaſure from vs, which yee haue reiected; but how it ſhould make euery thing ſo deare among our ſelues, ſince *the* time (as yee ſayd it doth), I cannot yet perceaue the reaſon.

Doctor. Why? doe yee not perceiue, that by reaſon hereof wee payde dearer preſently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before?

Knight. That cannot be denied.

Doctor. By howe much, thinke you?

Knight. By the thirde parte, well maner of things.

Doctor. Muſt not they that buy deare, ſell deare agayne theyr wares?

Knight. That is true, if they intend to thriue; for he that ſelleth good cheape & buyeth deare, ſhall neuer thriue.

Doctor. You haue your ſelfe declared the reaſon why things within the Realme proued after *that* time ſo deare; for wee muſt buy deare all

things bought from beyond the ſea, & therefore wee muſt ſell agayne as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our ſelues. And though that reaſon maketh it plaine, yet the experience of *the* thing maketh it playner; for where yee ſay that euery thing bought beyond the ſea is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was, do yee not ſee *the* ſame proportion rayſed in our wares, if it be not more? Why thinges vvithin the realme should be so deare.

What loſſe haue wee by this, when wee ſell our commodities as deare as wee buy others? Knight.

[1] I graunte to one ſorte of men, I accompt it no loſſe; yea, to ſome other a Gayne more then any loſſe, and yet to ſome other ſort a greater loſſe then it is profit to *that* other; yea, generally to the vtter impouerifhing of the Realme, and weaking of the Queenes maieſties power exceedingly. Doctor. [1 Fol. 33]

I pray you, what be thoſe ſorts that yee meane? And firſt of thoſe that yee thinke ſhould haue loſſe thereby? Knight.

I meane al theſe that liues by buying and ſelling; for, as they buy deare, they ſell thereafter. Doctor

What is the next ſort that yee ſay would win by it? Knight.

Mary, all ſuch as haue takinges or Fearmes in theyr owne manurance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they ſell after the new; that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and ſell all things growing thereof deare. Doctor. Some had gaynes by the alteration of the coyne.

What ſorte is that which yee ſayde ſhould haue greater loſſe hereby, then theſe men had profit? Knight.

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue either by a ſtented rent or ſtypend, or doe not Manure the ground, or doe occupy no liuing or ſelling. Doctor.

I pray you peruſe theſe ſortes as yee did the other, one by one, and by courſe. Knight.

I will gladly: firſte, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lyue for the moſt part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prynce. Then ye know he that may ſpend now by ſuch reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that could ſpend but nigh CC.li.; and ſo yee may perceiue it is a great abatement of Mans Countenaunce, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing; and therefore Doctor. Who had losse by the alteration of Coine.

gentlemen doe ſtudy ſo much the increaſe of their Lands and enhaunſing of their Rentes, and to take Fearmes and paſtures to their owne handes as yee ſee they doe, and all to ſeeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predeceſ[1]ſors did, and yet they came ſhorte there in. Some other, ſeeing the charges of houſeholde encreaſe ſo much, as by no prouiſion they can make, it can bee holpen, geue ouer their houſholdes, and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there ſpend their time, ſome of them with a ſeruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty perſons daily in his houſe, and to doe good in the Countrey in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other ſorte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre, that hauing but their olde ſtented wages, cannot finde them ſelues there-with as they might afore time, without rauin or ſpoile. And ye know xii.d. a day now will not go ſo far as viii. pence would aforetime. And therefore yee haue men ſo euill willing to ſerue the Prince now a dayes, from *that* they were wont to bee. Alſo, where xl. ſhillinges a yere was honeſt wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was ſufficient, nowe double as much will ſkante beare their charge.

[1 Fol. 33, back]

[Some gentlemen give up their country-houses, and get chambers in London.]

[12*d.* now won't go so far as 8*d.* of old.]

[Yeomen's wages, —40*s.* a year, and 20*d.* a week boardwages,— are doubled.]

Knight. That is longe of theyr exceſſe, aſwell in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more coſtely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely then their maiſters were wont to doe in times paſt.

[Servingmen.]

Doctor. No doubt that is one great cauſe of the greater charge of houſeholde. For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a friſe coate in winter, and with a plaine white hoſe made meete for his body, And with a piece of biefe, or ſome other diſhe of ſodde meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the leaſt, for ſommer, a coate of the fineſt cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hoſen of the fineſt Kerſey, and that of ſome ſtraung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates ſhalbe garded, cut, & ſtitched; and the breches of their hoſe ſo drawen with ſilke, that *the* work[2]manſhip ſhall farre paſſe the pryce of the ſtuffe. And thys thing is not reſtrained as it ſhould be, but rather cheriſhed of the Maiſters, on ſtriuing with the other who may bee moſt proude, and whoſe retinue may goe moſt lauiſh & gay for a time of ſhowe; whereas through ſuch

[Servingmen's dress of old.]

Of excesse in apparell and fare.

[Servingmen's gay dress now.]

[2 Fol. 34]

[Masters strive whose retinue shall be most gay.]

exceſſe they are fayne all the reſt of the yere to keepe the fewer ſeruauntes. And ſo in exceſſe of meates, they fare at ſome tymes in the yeare, that in the whole yeare after they keepe eyther no houſes at all, or if they doe it ſhalbe very ſmal. Like exceſſes aſwell in apparell as in fare were vſed in *Rome*, a litle before the declination of the Empyre, ſo as wyſe men haue thought it was occaſion of the decay thereof. And, therefore, *Cato* and diuerſe wyſe ſenatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for reſtrainte of ſuch exceſſes; and for that, through the inſolencie of ſome that maintained the contrary, *the* ſame were not duly executed, much pride enſued there, and of pride, diuiſion; and through deuiſion, vtter deſolation of the co*m*mon weale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that example, ſpecially London, the head of the empyre, where ſuch exceſſes (by reaſon the Wealth almoſt of thys Realme is heaped vp there, as the Corne of a Field into a barne) be moſt vſed; for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the lawe of neceſſity keepes men in a good caſe for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went ſimply, and our Seruingmen plainely, without Cuts or gards, bearing their heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes, in ſted of cuts and Gardes and light dauncing Swordes; and when they rode, carying good Speares in theyr hands, in ſtede of white rods, which they cary now, more like ladies or gentlewemen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate & without ſtrength.

[Excess in food now.]

[London goes to the greatest excess in dress and food.]

[Light swords for heavy, and white rods for spears, are now carri'd: men are so effeminate.]

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within *the* realm, that men be not forced to ride ſo ſtrong. It was a troblous [1] world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do ſpeake.

Knight.

[1 Fol. 34, back]

What can you tell what time or how ſone ſuch a world may come again? Wiſe men do ſay, that in peace men muſt looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies ſure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But ſith it is otherwiſe, and that *the* iniquitie of men is ſuch as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre, And that we recken heere in Englande our chiefe ſtrength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wiſedome to exerciſe them in tyme of peace, ſomwhat wyth ſuch apparell, fare, and hardenes, as they muſte needes ſuſtayne in time of warre,

Doctor.

In peace, looke for vvarre.

[The strength of England is in Servingmen and Yeomen.]

then the ſame ſhall bee no nouelty to them when they come to it; and theyr bodies ſhall bee ſtrong, and harder to beare that that they were ſomewhat accuſtomed withall afore. Let this that I ſay be of no credite, if delicacie[1] and tendernes was not the moſt occaſion of the ſubduing of the greateſt Empyres that were.

[1 *orig.* deticacie]

Knight.

Surely, ye ſay very wel, and that which ſoundeth to good reaſon. I muſt needes alowe *that* I haue found true my ſelfe, for my men are ſo tenderly vſed in time of peace, that they can not away with any heauy armour in time of warre, but either ſhirts of Maile or Coates of linnen ragges, which a[2] ſhotte may perhaps deceyue vs. Then what ſaye you by our buildinges, that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, far more exceſſiue then at any time heretofore? Doth not that impoueriſh the Realme, & cauſe men to keepe leſſe Houſes?

[Men can only bear light armour now.]

[2 *orig.* a a]

[New fine houses.]

Doctor.

I ſay that all theſe thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubte is cauſe of leſſe Houſholdes, ſith the buildings and trimming of thoſe houſes ſpendes away that that ſhould be otherwiſe ſpent in houſhold. But it doth not empoueriſh the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildings, for the moſt part, is ſpent amonges our ſelues & [3]amonges our neighbours[4] and Countreymen: As amongs Carpenters, Maſons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or peinting of theſe Houſes. For in that much treaſure may be ſpent, and to no vſe. Alſo the Areſes, Verderers, and Tapiſtry workes, wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conueieth ouer into *Flaunders* & other ſtraunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treaſure.

[Building good for the realm.]

[3 Fol. 35: *misnumberd* 36]

[4 *orig.* neighbouos]

Of excesse in building.

Knight.

Syr, yet I muſt remember you of one thing more, which men do ſuppoſe to be a great occaſion of the ſpendinge of the treaſure abroade; & it is where there is comen to *the* crown of late yeares much lands, by reaſon of Monaſteries, colleges, and Chauntres diſſolued, which men ſuppoſe hath bene the cauſe two maner of waies, that there is leſſe treaſure abroade in the Realme. One is, becauſe the reuenues of the ſayd places, diſſolued heretofore, were ſpent in the countrey, and went from hand to hande there, for Vittayle, cloth, and other thinges; and now are gone to one place out of *the* countrey. Another is, that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth, vttered the ſame, to buy perſelles of the ſayd diſſolued landes, lying commodities for them; whereby, one way & other, the whole riches of the countrey is ſweeped away.

[Did not the taking of the Church Revenues by the Crown send much money abroad?]

Truth it is, alſo, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it ſo ſtill if the Kynges Maieſtye had not diſperſed the ſame lands abroad among them in the countrey againe; but after *that* his highnes departed with a great deale of thoſe poſſeſſions, part by gift and part by ſale, treaſure hath and will encreaſe againe, abroad, aſmuch as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes; ſo that I take *that* to be no great cauſe of the dearth that we haue, for the ſoyle is not taken away, but the poſſeſſion thereof is onely tranſferred from one kinde of perſons to another.

Doctor.

[No, it only transferrd the possession of the land from one man here to another.]

Then, to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee [1][l]eft, I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof within our Realme did ſome Men no harme, as Buyers and ſellers: ſome other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent; and ſome other, as Gentlemen, men of warre, ſeruaunts, and all other lyuing by any rated or ſtented rent or ſtipend, were great loſers by it. But I heard you ſay it was ſo much withall to the loſſe of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in proceſſe of time. I meruayle how it ſhoulde bee ſo, for I hearde wiſe men ſay, that the Queenes higneſſe Father did winne ineſtimable great ſummes by the altera[t]ion of the Coyne.

Knight.

[1 Fol. 35, back]

[How did Henry VIII.'s debasement of our Coin injure the Country?]

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to ſuch as men haue when they ſell away their Lands, to haue the greater ſome at one time, and euer after to looſe the contynuall increaſe what ſhould grow therof. For you knowe al the treaſure of this Realme muſt once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it ſhould goe abrode againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the *Ocean* Sea, & out of it are they ſpred abroad againe; then, as they came into *the* kings coffers at the firſt in good mettall, they came forth in ſuch as you haue heretofore ſeene. And, albeit it ſeemeth at *the* firſt viewe to empoueriſhe but the ſubiects only, at length it empoueriſheth alſo the Prynce; and then, if the Prince ſhould want in time of warre, ſpecially ſufficient treaſure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklinges of ſhippes, gunnes, and other artillary, neceſſary for *the* warre, and could by no meanes haue of the ſubiectes wherewith to buy *the* ſame, what cauſe ſhould the Realme be in? Surely in very euill; & therefore theſe Coynes and Treaſure be not without cauſe called of wyſe men, *Nerui bellorum*, (*that* is to ſay)

Doctor.

Hovv the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

[How can the Prince buy armour and artillery from abroad, with base coin?]

[Coin the Sinews of War.]

the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greateſt daunger that I doe conſider ſhoulde growe for want of treaſure to the Prince and the Realme; [1]for though a Prynce may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the ſtraungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themſelues, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuiſe what coyne we woulde; but ſince wee muſt haue neede of other, and they of vs, wee muſt frame our things, not after our owne phantaſies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde; and wee may not ſet the price of things at our pleaſure, but follow the price of the vniuerſall Market of the World. I graunt, alſo, that Braſſe hath bene coyned ere this; yea, & Leather in ſome places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eſchewed as longe as poſſible may be. And if our treaſure be farre ſpent and exhauſt, (as it hapened in the later yeares of Kinge *Henry* the eight,) I could wiſh that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then *the* deprauing of our coines, which ſerueth the Prince but a litle while, for ſome preſent ſhifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwardes. I am perſwaded that within our Realme treaſure might bee ſoone recouered by theſe two meanes: firſt, if we forbad the bringing in and ſelling of ſo many trifles as I before reherſed to be brought vs from beyond the ſea, & that nothing made beyond the ſea of our owne commodities ſhould be ſould heere. And ſecondly, if we forbad that none of our commodities ſhoulde paſſe vnwrought ouer ſea, which being wrought here, and ſoulde ouer, ſhould bring in infinite treaſure in ſhorte time.

[1 Fol. 36]

[We can't have base or fancy coin, so long as we want to buy foreign goods.]

[Stafford's two remedies:

1. stop the importation of trifles;

2. forbid the export of raw, unwrought, materials.]

Knight. Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wiſe man, which thinke it better *that* all our wooll were ſould ouer ſo vnwrought, then any Clothiers ſhoulde be ſet a worke withall within this realme.

[No Clothiers wanted here.]

Doctor. That were a ſtraunge thing, in myne opinion, that any man ſhoulde thinke ſo; and what ſhould mooue them to be [2]of that opynion, I pray you?

[2 Fol. 36, back]

Knight. I will tell you. They take it, that all inſurrections & vproares, for the moſt parte, do riſe by occaſion of theſe clothiers; For, when clothiers lack vent ouer ſea, then is a great multitude of theſe clothiers

[Unemployd Clothiers the cause of all insurrections.]

idle; And, when they be idle, then they aſſemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and ſo picke one quarrell or other to ſtirre the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And, ſometimes by occaſion of warres, there muſt needes bee ſome ſtay of Clothes, ſo as they cannot haue alwayes lyke ſale or vent; at euery which time, if the ſayd Clothiers ſhould take occaſion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and conſequently, that *the* woll were vttered vnwrought ouer ſea then to haue it wrought here.

Whether all our Woll vvere expedient to be sould ouer vnvvrought.

So it may ſeeme to them that conſidereth one inconuenience and not another. Surely, whoſoeuer hath many Perſons vnder his Gouernaunce ſhall haue much a doe to gouerne them in quietneſſe; and hee that hath a greate family, ſhall haue ſometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy, eyther for a Prince to deminiſhe hys number, for a Maiſter of a Houſe to put away hys Seruaunts, becauſe he would not haue any trouble with the gouernaunce of them; he that would ſo doe might be well reſembled to a man that ſhould ſell his land becauſe he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encreaſe *the* feate of clothing, but alſo intend diuers other mo feates and occupations, wherby our People might bee ſet a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them; ſpecially ſuch as clothinge is, that ſettes ſo many thouſandes a woorke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupyed in *Venice*, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and chearifh euery man that bryngs in [1]any newe Arte or miſterye, whereby the people might be ſet a worke, with ſuch thinges as ſhoulde both finde their workemen, and alſo bring ſome treaſure or other commodity into the Countrey. And ſhall we contrarywiſe labour to deſtroy our beſt and moſt profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe vs treaſure from ſtraunge parties, or wherewith ſhoulde ſo many of our people be ſet a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

Doctor.

[We want our cloth-making trade increast, and more trades brought in.]

[1 Fol. 37]

Mysteries are to be encrease[d] rather than diminished.

Mary! wee might haue treaſure ynough from outward Parties for our Woolles, thoughe nonne were wroughte within the Realme; And, as for an Occupation, to ſet our Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee ſet to the Plough and huſbandry, and that ſhould make huſbandry to

Knighte.

[Set Clothiers to ploughing.]

be the more occupied, & grafing leſſe, when all theſe people that nowe doe occupy clothing ſhould fall to huſbandry.

Doctor. As to the firſt that yee ſayd, that Wooll is ſufficient to bring in treaſure; if it were (as it is not in deede,) yet that Feate were not for the Weale nor for continuaunce of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede ſheepe, and to increaſe Wooll, and ſo at length all other occupations ſhould bee ſet a ſide, and breedinge of ſheepe onely occupied; then yee knowe that a fewe ſheepe maiſters would ſerue for a whole Shyre; & ſo in proceſſe of time the multitude of the ſubiects ſhould be worne away, and none lefte but a fewe Sheepherds, which were no number ſufficient to ſerue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that theſe Clothiers ſhoulde fall from that occupation to huſbandry; how coulde ſo many added to them that occupy huſbandry already, get their lyuinge by the ſame, when they that bee huſbandmen nowe haue but a ſmall Lyuinge thereby? And if yee woulde ſay to mee that they ſhoulde haue at all times free vent and full Sale of [1]their corne ouer ſea, then commeth the ſame inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For ſome yeres it ſhould happen either for warres, or by reaſon of plenty in all partes beyond the Sea, that they ſhould haue no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and conſequently for lacke of liuing to aſſemble together, and make like vproares as ye ſpake of before.

[If every one bred sheep,

we should have no men to defend the realm. And if Clothiers turnd Husbandmen, they'd starve.]

[1 Fol. 37, back]

They haue in *Fraunce* more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we haue here by a greate deale; and for all that they haue made many greate ſturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not deſtroy Artificers; for, they know *that* the higheſt Prynces of them all, without ſuch artificers, could not maintaine their eſtate. Doe not all theyr toules, cuſtomes, taxes, tallages, and ſubſidies, chiefely growe by ſuch artificers? What king can maineteine his eſtate with his yearly reuenues, onely growing of his landes? For, as many ſeruaunts in a houſe, well ſet a worke, gaines euery man ſomewhat to their maiſter: So doth euery artificer in a Realme ech gaine ſomewhat; and altogether, a great maſſe to the king & his realm euery yeare it bringeth.

[In France are many trades, and the artisans make rows, but no one wants to destroy the men,

who are the riches of the land.]

Knight. And now, becauſe we are entred into communication of artificers,

I will make this diuision of them. Some of them doe but conuey money out of the countrey; Some other, that which they get, they doe spend againe in the countrey. And the third sorte of Artificers is of them that doe bring in Treasure into the countrey. Of the first sort, I recken all mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Milleners, and such as doe sell wares growing beyond the sea, and do fetch out our treasure for the same, which kinde of artificers, as I recken them tollerable, yet not so necessary in a common Weale but they might be best spared of all other. Yet, if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe [1] cary forth, we should be greate loosers by them. Of the second sorte bee these Shoomakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Masons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Victailers of all sortes, which, like as they get their liuing in *the* countrey, so they spend it; but they bring in no treasure vnto vs. Therefore, we must chearish well the third sort. And those be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Worstedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their misteries & faculties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolles, felles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter, and Cheese, these be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the industrye of a fewe persons; and if wee shoulde onely trust to such, and deuyse nothing els to occupy our selues with, a few persons would serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would finde; and so should our realme be but like a grange, better furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it mighte be subiecte to the spoile of other nations; aboute whych is the more to be feared and eschued, because the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth such thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for such thinges as be for *the* nourishment of men. If *Pomponius Mela* be to be beleeued, which, descrybing thys Ilande, sayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, & ferax: sed eorum, que pecora, quàm homines benignius alant;* That is to say, 'it is playne, large, & plentifull. But of these things that nourisheth Beastes more kindely then men.' So many Forestes, Chases, Parkes, Marshes, and waste groundes being more here then most commonly elswhere, declare the same not to bee all in vayne that hee affyrmes. It hath not so much erable Grounde, Vynes, Olyues, Fruites, and such as bee both most necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, so they finde most persons foode, as *Fraunce* and diuerse other Countries haue.

Three sortes of Artificers.

[1. Middlemen importers.]

One bringeth out our Treasure.

[1 Fol. 38, *misnumberd* 34.]

A nother spend that they get in the same countrey agayne.

The thrid sort bring in Treasure, and there fore must be cherished.

[Our land brings forth food for beasts rather than men.]

Pomp. Me.

[1 Fol 38, back] Therefore, as much grounde [1] as is here apte for thefe things, would be tourned as much as may be to fuch vfes as may finde mofte perfons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be replenifhed wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is, as it were, our naturall occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glafiers, Paynters, Golde-fmithes, blacke-fmithes of al fortes, Couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and fuch other; fo as we fhould not onely haue inough of fuch thinges to ferue our Realme, and faue an infinyte treafure that goeth now ouer for many of the fame; but alfo might fpare of fuch things ready wrought to be folde ouer, whereby we fhould fetch againe other neceffary commodities or treafure. And this fhoulde both replenifh the Realme of People able to defende it, and alfo faue & winne much treafure to the fame. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be else baren of them felues.

[New trades wanted in England.]

Mysteries doe enrich countries that be els barren.

And what riches they bringe to the Countries where they be well vfed, the Countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where, through fuch occupations, it hath fo many & eke fo wealthy Cities *that* it were almoft incredible fo litle grounde to fuftaine fo much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right confideration, *that* would haue either none or els leffe clothing w*ith*in this Realme, becaufe it is fome time occafion of bufines & tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way fo co*m*modious or neceffary for mans vfe, but it is fometimes, by ill handling, occafion of fome difpleafure, no, not fier and water that be fo neceffary, as nothing can be more.

[See how Flanders and Germany are enricht by their manufactures.]

Knight. Yea, mafter Doctor, we ftand not in like cafe as *Fraunce* or *Flaunders* that yee fpeake of; if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another, [2] to whofe Countreyes they may fende theyr commodities to fell.

[2 Fol. 39]

Doctor. So may wee bee, if wee were fo wyfe to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee fo mad, being a Priuate man, but hee will be fure to doe fo? Let wyfe men confider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time paft. And if they bee nowe loft or intercepted another way fince, let vs purchafe other for them; or els geue as litle occafion of breache with our Neyghbours as may bee.

Aliaunce vvith straungers are to be purchased and kept.

The Wyſe man, as I remember, ſayth in *Eccleſiaſtes: Non eſt bonum homini eſſe ſolum.*

Alſo, in Fraunce they haue diuerſe Bandes of men in Armes, in diuerſe places of the Realme, to repreſſe ſuch Tumults quickely if any ſhould ariſe. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee boulde to haue as many Artificers as they haue.

Knight. Whether great Armies bee as necessary heere as in Fraunce.

GOD ſworbote[1] that euer wee ſhoulde haue any ſuch Tyrauntes come among vs; for, as they ſay, ſuch will in the Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouiſion, and paye nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauiſhe hys Wyfe or his Daughters for it. and euen in like manner ſayd the Marchaunt man; adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather bee an occaſion of Commotions to bee ſtirred, then to bee quenched. For (as hee ſayd) the Stomaks of Engliſhe men woulde neuer beare to ſuffer ſuch Iniuries and Reproches, as hee heard that ſuch vſed to doe to the Subiects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Peſaunts.

Husband. [[1] Gods forbode, God's forbidding. p. 74.] [Tyranny over the poor in France.]

Marchaunt. [French 'Peasants.']

Mary, the Prynce might reſtrayne them well ynough, for doing Outrages, vpon great paynes.

Knight.

What if it were ſkant in his power to do? the *Romaines* had ſometimes ſuch men of armes in diuerſe places for defence of the Empyre, it was thought, that at length it ouer[2]threwe the ſame. *Iulius Cæſar* doth that declare; and many times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of warre erected what Emperor they lyſted, ſometime of a Slaue or a Bondman, contrary to the election of the *Senate* of *Rome,* being chiefe Counſaylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was cleane deſtroyed; it is not for commotions of Subiects that Fraunce alſo keepeth ſuch, but the ſtate and neceſſity of the Countrey, which is enuironed about with enemies, and neither ſea nor wall betwene them, againſt whoſe Inrodes and inuaſion they mayntayne thoſe men of warr of neceſſity. They would faine lay them downe, if they durſt, for feare of their neighbours. And ſome wyſe men among them haue ſayd and written, that the ſame men of Armes may bee the deſtruction of their Kingdome at length. And beſide that the largeneſſe of our Dominion, or Situation of the ſame towarde other Countreyes, doth not require ſuch men, nor yet the reuenewes of this realme, is able to make vp the like number with Fraunce. And then if we ſhould make a leſſe number, wee ſhould declare our ſelues in-

Doctor. [[2] Fol. 39, back.]

[France must keep troops; and yet they may destroy the country.]

feriour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superiour in ſucceſſes, through the ſtouteneſſe of our Engliſhe hartes. And therefore I would not haue a ſmall ſore cured by a greater griefe, nor for auoydinge of populer ſedition, which happeneth very ſeldome and ſoone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoake, & charge both to the Prince and the people.

A lesse griefe vvould not be holpen vvith a greater sore.

Knighte. You ſay well, and ſo as I can ſay no more againſt your ſentence, but yet I would wiſhe your ſaying coulde ſatiſſie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor. Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight. I could be content to be troubled longer of that ſorte.

Marchaunt & Capper. And ſo coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your ſelfe, gentle maiſter Doctor.

Knighte. [1 Fol. 40, *mis-numberd* 36] [1]Yet the moſt neceſſary poynte which we ſpake of is yet behinde, that is, how theſe thinges may be remedied; And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduice herein.

Doctor. A Gods name, I will ſhewe my phantaſie in that part; But let vs firſt goe to ſupper. And ſo wee went together to our Supper, where our Hoſte had prepared honeſtly for vs.

[p. 73, l. 7. *God sworbote.* Compare in the Percy Folio *Robin Hood,* &c., p. 18, l. 59, vol. i.,

"Now Marry, *gods forbott*" said the Sheriffe,
"that euer that shold bee."

The phrase occurs again in p. 30, l. 64; p. 393, l. 1230. "Forebedynge (or *forbode,* or forefendynge). *Prohibicio, inhibicio.*"—Promptorium, ab. 1440 A.D.]

THE THIRD DIA-

[Fol. 40, back]

logue, wherein are deuiſed

ſome remedies for the ſame
griefes.

Knight.

Fter wee had well refreſhed our ſelues at ſupper, I thought long til I had knowne *the* iudgement of mayſter Doctor about the remedies of the thinges aboue remembred, how he thought they might bee beſt redreſſed, and with leaſt daunger or alteration of things. (And therefore I ſayd vnto him thus:) Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good maiſter Doctor) our diſeaſes, and alſo the occaſions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not deſtitute of conuenient remedies for the ſame. You haue perſwaded vs full, and wee perceaue it well our ſelues, that wee are not now in ſo good ſtate as wee haue bene in times paſt. And you haue ſhewed vs probable occaſions that hath brought vs to that caſe, therefore now wee praye you ſhewe vnto vs what mighte remedye theſe our griefes.

[Pray, Doctor, tell us the remedies for our country's ills.]

Doctor.

When a man doth perceaue his griefe, and the occaſion alſo of the ſame, hee is in a good way of amendment. For, knowing the occaſion of the griefe, a man may ſoone auoide the ſame occaſion; and that being auoyded, the griefe is alſo taken away. For as the Phyloſopher ſayth: *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.* But, let vs briefly recount *the* griefes and then the occaſions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquiſition of the remedies for the ſame. Firſt, this vniuerſall [1]dearth, in compariſon of *that* former age, is *the* chiefeſt griefe *that* all men complaines moſt on. Secondly, Incloſures, & turnyng of erable Grounde to paſture. Thyrdly, decayinge of Townes, Townesſhippes, and Villages; and laſt, deuiſion & diuerſitie of opinions in religion. The occaſions or cauſes of theſe, although I haue before diuerſely

[The ills are,
1. Dearth.
[1 Fol. 41]
2. Inclosures, and turning Arable into Pasture.
3. Decay of Towns.
4. Religious Differences.]

[The Doctor's Prologue.]

declared after the diuerſitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I wyll take out of the ſame; But only ſuch as I thinke verely to be the very iuſt occaſions in deede. For, as I ſhewed you before, diuers men diuerſly iudge this or that to be the cauſe or occaſion of thys or that gryefe; and becauſe there may be diuers cauſes of one thinge, and yet but one pryncipal cauſe that bryngeth forth the thinge to paſſe: Let vs ſeeke oute *the* cauſe, omitting all the meane cauſes, whych are driuen forward by the leaſt oryginall cauſe. As in a preſſe going in at a ſtraight, the formoſt is driuen by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by ſome violent and ſtronge thinge that dryues hym forwarde, which is the firſt and pryncipall cauſe of the puttynge forwarde of the reſt afore him. If he were kept backe and ſtaied, al they that goe afore would ſtay withal. To make this more plain vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheeles, yet the firſt wheele being ſtyrred, it dryueth the next, and that the thyrd, &c., till the laſt that moues the Inſtrument that ſtryckes the clock; So in making of an houſe, there is the Mayſter that would haue the houſe made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the ſtuffe to make the houſe with al; *the* ſtuffe neuer ſtirres till the Workeman do ſet it forward; the workeman neuer trauailes but as *the* maiſter prouoketh him *with* good wages: and ſo he is the pryncipall cauſe of thys houſe making. And this cauſe is of *the* learned called 'efficient'; as that *that* bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect. Perſwade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the houſe ſhall neuer come to paſſe, yet the houſe can not bee made wythout the ſtuffe, and workeˡmen; and therefore they be called of ſome *cauſæ ſine quibus non*, and of ſome other *Materiales & Formales;* but all commeth to one purpoſe. It is the efficient cauſe, *that* is, the pryncipall cauſe, without remouing of which cauſe *the* thing that cannot be remedied. And becauſe that it was graffed in euery mans iudgement, *that* the cauſe of any thing being taken awaye, the effecte is taken away withall; Therefore Men tooke the cauſes of theſe thynges that we talke of wythout Iudgement, not diſcerning the pryncipall cauſe from the meane cauſes, that by taking away of theſe cauſes that bee but ſecondary, as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of *Aiax* that loſt her huſband in *the* ſhippe called *Argos*, wiſhed *that* thoſe Firre beames had neuer

The originall cause in euery thing is to be searched.

[Analogies of, 1. a crowd at a narrow passage;

2. a clock; and

3. the building of a house.]

[The original cause calld 'efficient.']

[ˡ Fol. 41, back]

Diuerse sortes of causes there bee.

[The primary cause to be distinguisht from secondary causes.]

Cic. top. Lib. 5.

bene felled in *Peleius* wood, whereof the ſayd ſhippe was made, when that was not the efficient cauſe of the looſing of her huſbande, but *the* wild fire caſt in the ſaid ſhippe, which did ſet it a fyre. Such cauſes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of; ſo they bee alſo idle and of no operation of themſelues, without ſome other to ſet them a worke. And percaſe, I (whyle I degreſſe ſo farre from my matter) ſhalbe thought to goe as far from the purpoſe; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys *that* I haue ſayde to the ſame. Some thinkes this Dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in ſelling his wares ſo deare; & ſome other by the Lord, in reyſing his land ſo high. And ſome by theſe incloſures. And ſome other by the reyſing of our coine, or [1]alteration of the ſame. Therefore, ſome by taking ſome one of theſe things away, (as theyr opinion ſerued them to be the pryncipall cauſe of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth; But as the tryall of the thyng ſhewed, they touched not the cauſe efficient pryncipall; and therefore theyr deuiſe tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith, for that is proper to the pryncipal cauſe, that as ſoone as it is taken away, the effect is remoued alſo. [2]Yet I confeſſe al theſe thinges rayſeth together with this dearth, that euery of them ſhould ſeeme to be the cauſe of it; neuertheleſſe, that is no good proofe that they ſhould bee the cauſes of it, no more then was the ſteeple made at *Douer*[3] the cauſe of the decay of the Hauen of *Douer*, becauſe the Hauen began to decay the ſame time that the Steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though ſome of theſe becauſe of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient cauſes of this dearth. But as I haue ſayd before, of men thruſting one another in a thronge, one dryuing another, and but one firſt of al, that was the chieſe cauſe of that force; So in this matter that we talke of, there is ſome one thing that is the oryginall cauſe of theſe cauſes; that be, as it were, ſecondary, and makes them to be the cauſes of other. As I take *the* reyſing of al priſes of victuals at *the* huſbandmans hand, is cauſe of the rayſing of *the* rent of his land. And *that* Gentlemen fall ſo much to take fearmes to theyr hands, leaſt they bee driuen to buy theyr p[r]ouiſion ſo deare, that is a great cauſe againe that Incloſure is the more vſed; For Gentlemen hauinge much land in their hand, and not being able to weilde all, & ſee it manured in huſbandry, which requyreth the induſtry, laboure, and gouernaunce of a greate many of perſons, doe conuerte

[Remote causes need not be considerd.]

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[1 *orig.* atteration]

[The principal or efficient cause of the Dearth has not yet been toucht.]

[2 Fol. 42]

[Tenterden steeple and Dover harbour.]

[3 † Tenterden.]

Hovv one thing is cause of another, & that of the third.

moſte of that Lande to Paſtures, wherein is requyred both leſſe charge of Perſons, and of the which neuertheleſſe commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and ſets forwarde one another, but one firſt of all is *the* chiefe cauſe of all this circuler motion & impulſion. I ſhewed, ere while, that *the* chiefe cauſe was not in the huſbandman, nor yet in *the* Gentleman. Let vs ſee whether it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reaſon that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the huſbandman is dryuen to ſel his commodities dearer. now *that* the matter is brought to maiſter marchaunt, how can yee auoyde the cauſe from being in you?

[Is the chief cause of the Dearth in the Merchant?]

Marchaunt. [1 Fol. 42, back]

[1] Sir, eaſily ynough; for as wee ſell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do, So wee buy dearer all thinges of ſtraungers; and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will diſburden our ſelues of this fault.

Doctor.

And they be not here to make aunſwere; if they were, I woulde aſke them why they ſell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt.

Mary! and to that I hearde many of them aunſwere ere this (when they were aſked that queſtion) two manner of wayes. One was, they ſelled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do; ſaying for proofe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll, they would gieue aſmuch Wyne, Spice, or Silke as they were wont to geue for ſo much. Yea, for an ounce of our ſiluer or golde, as much ſtuffe as euer was geuen for *the* ſame. And their other anſwere was, *that* if we reckened they did ſell their wares dearer becauſe they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the ſame then they were wont to do, that was not their fault, they ſaide, but oures, that made our pieces leſſe, or leſſe worth then they were in times paſt. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: ſaying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieue oure coynes, they would conſider *the* quantity & right value of it, that they were eſteemed at euery where through *the* world.

The straungers aunswvere touching this dearth.

[That because our coin was debasd, they wanted more of it for their goods.]

Knight.

Then I would haue anſwered *them* there of this ſorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it *the* matter to them what quantity or value our coyne were? If ſo, they might haue

as much of our commodities for *the* ſame as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our ſiluer and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they ſhould haue any from vs. Wherefore, I would thinke that was no cauſe why they ſhould ſell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

[Then let foreigners take our goods, and let our coin alone.]

[1]Then he might haue aunſwered againe, that it chaunſed not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al thoſe wares *that* they looked for. And therefore they, hauinge percaſe more wares neceſſary for vs then we had of ſuch wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs ſuch ſtuffe currant in moſt places as might buy that they looked for elſe where at their pleaſure; And that they will ſay was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not tranſporting ouer ſea any Gold or ſiluer, they paſſed not thereof, ſo they mighte haue the ſame once conueyed them; As they had many waies to haue it ſo, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might ſay that we had not in deede our coyne in that eſtate our ſelues, that by the name they pretended, but eſteemed both the value & quantity of the ſtuffe it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of ſiluer, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought vs braſſe mingled with Siluer, we woulde not take it for pure Siluer; and if wee woulde not take it ſo at their handes, why ſhoulde they take it otherwiſe at ours? Then they ſaw no man heere but woulde rather haue a cup of ſiluer then of braſſe, no, not the maiſter of our mints, though they would otherwiſe perſwade the one to be as good as the other. Wherfore, ſeing vs eſteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beſide, why ſhould they not eſteeme our coine after *the* quantity and value of the ſubſtaunce thereof, both after the rate it was eſteemed amonge vs, & alſo euery other where? And ſo as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in ſubſtaunce that they were wont to demaund for their wares. Now let vs ſee whether now goeth the cauſe of this matter? from the ſtraungers; For me thinkes he hath reſonably excuſed himſelfe & put it from him.

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 43]

[But suppose they don't want so much goods of us as we do of them,

why should they, for the balance, take our debasd coin as pure?]

[2]By your tale it muſt bee in the coyne, and conſequently in the Kinges highnes, by whoſe commaundement *the* ſame was altered.

Knight.

[2 Fol. 43, back]

Doctor. Yea, percaſe it goes further yet; yea, to ſuch as were the firſt counſailours of that deede, pretending it ſhould bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditye, whych, if hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momenta in profit, and continuall loſſe both to his highnes and alſo his whole Realme, Hee with his people might haue ben eaſly reuoked againe from *the* practiſe of that ſimple deuiſe. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine *that* he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwiſe, is not much to be blamed; no more was the kinges maieſty in any wyſe, (in whoſe time this was don, which is not to be ſuppoſed to haue intended thereby any loſſe, but rather commoditye to himſelfe and his ſubiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing ſucceeded beſide the purpoſe.

[Henry VIII. debasd our coin, thinking that it 'ud be a benefit to the realm; but it's been a great loss.]

Knight. Then yee thinke plainely *that* this alteration of *the* coine was the chiefe and principall cauſe of this vniuerſall dearth?

Doctor. Yea, no doubt, and of many of *the* ſayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginall of all; and that beſide the reaſon of the thing being plaine inough of it ſelf, alſo experience & proofe doth make it more playne. For euen with *the* alteration of *the* coyne began this dearth; and as the coyne appayred, ſo roſe the prices of thinges with all; & this to be true, *the* few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained did teſtefie; for yee ſhould haue for any of *that* ſame coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as euer was wont to be had for the ſame. For as the meaſure is made leſſe, there goeth more number to make vp the tale; and becauſe this rayſed not together at all mens handes, therefore ſome hath greate loſſes, and ſome other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made ſuch a generall grudge for the thinge at the firſte time. And thus to conclude, [1] I thinke this alteration of *the* Coine to haue ben *the* firſt originall cauſe that ſtraungers firſt ſould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any commodity, agiane to ſell *the* ſame dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayſe their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouiſion, and conſequently to incloſe more Groundes.

That the alteration of the coyne vvas the very cause of this dearth, and consequently of other grief, euer sinee that time.

[1 Fol. 44]

[The debasement of our Coin was the original cause of the Dearth.]

Knight. If this were the chiefeſt cauſe of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maiſter Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it ſhould ſeeme to be; how commeth it to paſſe (where as you ſay, if the cauſe be re-

moued, the effect is alſo taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long ſithence our engliſh coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeſſe which now raighneth) hath bene again throughly reſtored to his former purity and perfection?

[But Q. Eliz. has restord our Coin to its original purity.]

In deede, ſir, I muſt needes confeſſe vnto you (although it may ſeeme at the firſt ſighte to diſcredite my former ſayinges in ſome parte) that, notwithſtanding that our Coyne at this preſent day, yea, and many yeares paſt, hath recouered his aunciente goodneſſe, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue ſtill amongſt vs. Wherefore as your doubte, herein moued very aptly and to *the* purpoſe, is well worthy the conſideration, ſo doe I accompte it of ſuch difficulty, *that* perhaps it would not be thought to ſtande wyth modeſty to vndertake without farther ſtudy preſently to diſſolue the ſame.

Doctor.

[True. And the Dearth still continues.]

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modeſty. I vnderſtand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of ſufficient ſtore (without farther deliberation) to ſatiſſie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then theſe.

Knight.

Well[1], I am content (becauſe you wyll haue it ſo) to [2]yeelde to your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder proteſtation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewiſe with mee your owne Phantaſies and Iudgementes in the ſame. I fynde therefore two ſpeciall cauſes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwit*h*ſtanding *that* reſtitution made in our coin, the aforeſayd dearth of things (in reſpect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The firſt is, that whereas immediately after the baſeneſſe of our Coyne in the time of kyng *Henry* the eight, *the* prices of all things generally among al ſorts of people roſe; it muſt needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen, which liued onely vpon *the* reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the ſmarte hereof then any other, of what order or eſtate ſo euer. Thys therefore being take*n* as moſt true, the Gentlemen, deſirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out *the* Porte of theyr Predeceſſors, were driuen of neceſſity as often as whenſoeuer any Leaſes deuiſed for terme of yeares by the*m*ſelues or their Aunceſtors were throughly expyred, & fel into

Doctor.

[1 *orig.* Wwell]
[2 Fol. 44, back]

[Two causes of the dearth of thinges.]

[1. The debasing of our coin by Henry VIII. This raisd prices.]

theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the moſt part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old; Yea, this rackynge and hoyſſing vp of Rentes hath continued euer ſince *that* tyme, vntill this preſent day. Hereupon the huſbandman was neceſſarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and ſo continueth vnto this day), to ſel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them; and likewiſe other artificers withall, to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrſt time (as I ſaid before) ſprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firſte and chiefeſt efficient cauſe, ſo doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and ſo forwarde, partely to the racked and ſtretched rentes, which haue laſted, yea, and increaſed euer ſince that time hetherunto, & ſo are like to continue I [1]know not how long. Now if we would in theſe our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally reſtored among vs agayne, The reſtoring of our good Coine, which allredy is paſt, (& before *the* improued rentes would only of it ſelfe haue been ſufficient to haue brought this matter to paſſe,) will not ſerue in theſe our dayes, except *with*all the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which poſſibly can not be *with*out the common conſent of our landed men throughout *the* whole realme. Another reaſon I conceiue in this matter to be *the* great ſtore & plenty of treaſure, which is walking in theſe parts of *the* world far more in theſe our dayes then euer our forefathers haue ſene in times paſt. Who doth not vnderſtand of *the* infinite ſummes of gold & ſiluer, which are gathered from *the Indies* & other countries, and ſo yearely tranſported into theſe coſtes? As this is otherwiſe moſt certaine, ſo doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in theſe daies. It is their conſtant report, *that* in times paſt, & within *the* memory of man, he hath beene accounted a rich & welthy man, & well able to keepe houſe among his neighbors, which, all things diſcharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl.li.; but in theſe our daies *the* man of *that* eſtimation is ſo farre in the common opinion from a good houſe-keeper, or man of wealth, *that* he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore theſe ii. reaſons ſeemed vnto me to contain in them ſufficient probability for cauſes of the continuaunce of this generall dearth.

[The raising of prices raisd Rents on Lease

This raisd the price of food, and all other articles.]

[1 Fol. 45]

[If we want our old pen'orths or prices, we must get Rents lowerd.]

[2. The great increase of money in our days, from India, &c.]

[Some years ago a man with £30 or £40 a year was thought rich. Now he's considerd next door to a beggar.]

Knight. Yea, but (ſir) if the increaſ of treaſure be partly the occaſion of this continued dearth, then by likelyhoode in other our neighbors na-

tions, vnto whom yearly is conuaighed great ſtore of gold and ſiluer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like ſorte, rayſed according to the increaſe of their treaſure.

It is euen ſo; and therefore to vtter freely mine opinion, as I accoumpt it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherſed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our En[1]gliſh wares vnto their old prices, ſo doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wiſhe that our commodities ſhould bee vttered good cheape to ſtraungers, and theirs, on *the* other ſide, deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impoueriſhing of the Common weale in a very ſhorte time. Doctor. [[1] Fol. 45. back]

Now that you haue ſo well touched the occaſion of this dearth, and what is to be hoped or wiſhed of *the* ſame, ſo fully that I am well ſatiſſied withall, I pray you ſhewe me the remedies of theſe great Incloſures, whereof al the realme complaineth of ſo much, and hath complayned long vpon. For you haue well perſwaded how it is a meane of greate deſolation of this realme, and that is longe of *the* great profit that men haue by paſture, ouer *that* they haue by tillage, *that* they turne ſo much to paſture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe; for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reaſoned vpon aſwell in Parliament as in Counſayles, & yet ſmall remedy found therefore that tooke effect. Knighte. [Pray tell me the remedies for the Enclosures of Common lands.]

If I then, after ſo many wiſe heades as were in thoſe Parliaments and Counſayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they ſay) *Magnificat*, & to finde a remedye for this thinge which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant. Doctor.

Yet tell your phantaſie therein; for though you miſſe of the right meane to reforme that, it ſhall bee no more ſhame for you to doe ſo, then it was for ſo many wiſe men as yee ſpeake of to miſſe. Knight.

You ſay truth, and ſince I ſpeak nothing in this part *that* I would haue taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wiſe men to consider, & to admit or reiect as to their better reaſon ſhall ſeeme good; therefore, as yee haue boldned me already *with* your patience to ſay thus farre, I will not ſpare to declare my minde in [2]this. But ſtill I muſt keepe my grounde that I spake of, that is, to try out the effectuall cauſe of theſe incloſures, and then, by taking away of the cauſe, to redreſſe the thinge. Doctor. [[2] Fol. 46]

Knight. I pray you doe ſo; for to mee it ſeemes very reaſonable that ye ſay, and agreeable to that I heard a good Phiſition tell mee once, when I was ſicke of an ague: when I aſked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough allredy, ſaying hee had more neede to gieue me thinges that ſhould make me ſtronger; Then he anſwered me that choler was *the* cauſe of my ſicknes, and that hee gaue me thoſe purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cauſe of my diſeaſe once taken away, the ſicknes ſhould bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you vſe your accuſtomed order in this matter, and tel the cauſe of theſe Incloſures.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[A doctor gives a purge for ague to clear out its cause, the choler.]

Doctor. I ſhewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cauſe thereof, and partly the remedy of the ſame.

Knighte. So did other men among vs tell theyr fanſie as then; but now we pray you tell which of all thoſe cauſes ye take for the neceſſary and efficient cauſe of this matter.

Doctor. To tel you plaine, it is Auarice *that* I take for *the* principall cauſe thereof; but can we deuiſe *that* all couetouſnes can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be *with*out wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections; what then? we muſt take away from men the occaſion of their couetouſnes in this part; what is that? the exceeding luker that they ſe grow by theſe incloſures more then by their huſbandry. And that may be done by any of theſe two meanes that I will tell you: Either by *the* miniſhing of the luker that men haue by grafing; Or els by aduau*n*ſing of the profite of huſbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grafing is; for euery ma*n* (as *Plato* ſaith) is naturally couetous of luker. And *that* wherein they ſee [1] moſt luker, they will moſt gladly exercife. I ſhewed you before, that there is more luker by grafing of x. Acres to *the* occupier alone, then is in *the* tillage of xx. And *the* cauſes thereof be many: one is, *that* grafing requires ſmall charge & ſmall labor, which in tillage co*n*ſumes much of *the* me*n*s gai*n*es; though it be true *that* the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maiſter & all his mainy, then the grafing of xx. acres. Another great cauſe is, that whatſoeuer thing is rered vpon grafing, hath free vente both ouer this ſide & alſo beyond the ſea, to

[Avarice is the chief cause of Enclosures.]

Hovv Inclosures may be remedied.

[1. Lessen the profit of grazing, or 2. greaten that of tillage.]

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

[1 Fol. 46, back]

[There's more profit now by grazing than tillage.]

be ſold at the higheſt penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of ſeruaunts & of labor. And alſo if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth ſcant for the charge of *the* tillage. And then if the market doe ariſe, either within *the* Realme or without, the poore huſband ſhalbe ſo reſtrained from ſelling his corn, *that* he neuer after ſhall haue any ioy to ſet his plough in the ground; which maketh euery man forſake tillage and fall to grafing, which bringeth in all theſe Incloſures.

[Causes of tillage paying so badly.]

Now, what remedy for that? Knighte.

Mary! as for *the* firſt poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and grafing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reaſon the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is, paſture, *pratum*, that is as much to ſay as *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the huſbandman might haue aſmuch liberty at all times to ſel his corn, either within the Realme or without, as the grafier hath to ſell his; which would make the huſbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other, ſeeing them thriue, would turn theyr paſture to tyllage. And, though it enhaunſe the market for the time, yet woulde it cauſe much more tillage to be vſed, and conſequently more Corne, which in time of plentye within this Realme might bringe in much treaſure; & in time of ſcarſity would ſuffice for *the* realme, as I ſhew[1]ed you before. And thus with luker they ſhould bee entyſed to occupy the Plough, yea, & with other priuileges. I haue red *that* in this realme ſometime there was ſuch a lawe, as a man that had treſpaſſed the lawe of miſaduenture, mought haue taken the Plough tayle for his ſainctuary. Alſo *that* occupation was had ſo honourable amonge the *Romains*, *that* one was taken from houlding the plough to bee *Conſull* in *Rome*, who after his yeare ended, thought no ſcorne to reſort to *the* ſame feate againe. What occupation is ſo neceſſary or ſo profitable for mans life as this is? Or what miſtery is ſo voyd of all craft as the ſame is? & how litle it is regarded; yea, how much is it deſpiſed, that many in theſe daies repute them but as villains, peſaunts, or ſlaues, by whome *the* proudeſt of them haue their liuings. So *that* I maruaile much there is any (ſeing ſuch a vility & contempt of *the* thing) will occupy the feat of huſbandry at all; For as honour nouriſheth all ſciences, ſo diſhonor muſt needes decay them. And there-

Doctor.

Pratum quasi paratum.

[There should be no restraint on the sale of corn.]

[1 Fol. 47]

[Once the plough-tail was a sanctuary.]

[Husbandry is now despised. Farmers are thought villains.]

[Honour husbandry; give it profit;

fore if ye will haue huſbandry encreaſed, ye muſt honor & cheriſh it; *that* is, to let them haue honeſt gaines thereby; & ſince *that* gains ſhall come into youre countrey, why ſhould you be offended therewith? Another way is to abate the commodity of graſing, as when any taxe is requiſite to be graunted to *the* Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of paſture aſmuch as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & ſuch things as are reared by graſing, *that* paſſe to *the* partes beyond *the* ſea vnwrought, with double tallage ouer any corn tranſported; and by enhaunſing the profite of tillage, and abaſing of the profite of graſing, I doubt not but huſbandry would be more occupied and graſing much leſſe; And therby theſe incloſures to be broken vp. Alſo there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto alſo; that is, where men are enter comminers in *the* common fields, & alſo haue their portions ſo entermedled one with another, that though they would, they could not encloſe any part of *the* ſayd fields ſo long as it is ſo. [1] But of late, diuers men, finding greater profite by graſing then by huſbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchaunge with them ſo many acres in this place for ſo many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and ſo incloſe it. For the auoiding whereof, I think verely that it was ſo of olde time ordeined, that euery Tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes, ſo as here ſhould bee three acres, and then his neighbour ſhould haue as many; & ouer that, he other iii. or iiii., and ſo after the like rate be *the* moſt partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this countrey; which I thinke good were ſtill ſo continued, for auoyding of the ſayd encloſures. And thus farre as touching *that* matter.

put a double tax on pasture, and on exported wool.]

[Thus grazing would be discourag'd and Enclosures broken down.]

[1 Fol. 47, back]

[Again, keep up the old system of mixing land ownd by different people. This obliges all to keep their lands open.]

Marchaunt. Now that you haue well declared your opinion in theſe matters of the common dearth and encloſures, I pray you tell vs your minde what ſhould be the occaſion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highwayes, and hoſpitalles; and how the ſame may be remedied and releeued againe. For that theſe huſbandmen & dwellers of the countrey finde not ſo great lacke in the fieldes abroade, but Citizens and Burgeſes finde as much within theyr walles.

Of Tovvnes decayed.

Doctor. Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phanſie in all theſe

things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, *the* good occupations heretofore vſed in the ſayd Townes were occaſion of theyr wealth in times paſt, and the laying down of thoſe occupations againe is the cauſe of the decay of the ſame townes. Wherefore, if ſuch occupations may be reuyued againe in the ſame, they would recouer theyr former wealth againe.

[Bring back to the Towns their old Trades]

I beleeue that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of theſe townes; but what, I pray you, was [1] the occaſion of ſuch decay of the occupations?

Marchaunt.

[1 Fol. 48]

I will tell you: while men were contented with ſuch as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well ſet a worke; as I knewe the time when men were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning; whereby the Townes were then well occupied and ſet a worke, and yet the money payd for the ſame ſtuffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the pooreſt younge man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And ſpecially, no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hoſe, or ſhyrte, in his countrey, but they muſt haue this geare come from London; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the ſea; whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and ſpecially of the townes beyond the ſeaes, are well ſet a worke, euen vpon our coſtes. Therefore I would wiſh ſome ſtay were deuiſed for comming of ſo many trifles from beyond the Sea, and ſpecially of ſuch things as might be made here among our ſelues; or els might bee either all ſpared, or els leſſe vſed amonge vs; as theſe drinking and looking glaſſes, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thouſande other thinges of like ſorte. As for ſilkes, wines, and ſpice: if there came leſſe ouer, it made no matter. But ſpecially, I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, ſhould be brought from beyond the ſea to be ſolde here, but *that* all thoſe ſhould be wrought within this realme. were it not better for vs *that* our owne people were ſet a worke with ſuch thinges then ſtraungers? I am ſure xx. thouſand perſons might be ſet a worke within this realme, that are ſet a worke beyond ſea with thoſe thinges that now

Doctor.

The occasion of the decay of our Tovvnes.

[Of old, folk were content with country-made girdles, &c.; now no poor man is so, and

no gentleman is with country-made clothes.

All must come from London, and are often made abroad.]

[We should stop this: either make trifles here, or else not use them.]

[Foreign trifles.]

[None of our own products (wool, tin, &c.) should be imported.]

[This would set 20,000 people to work.]

[1 Fol. 48, back] be made beyond the Sea, and [1] might be made here; (might not the Prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde X. M. perſons through the whole yeare, and burden his treaſures with neuer a penny thereof?) I think theſe things might be wrought here, not onely ſufficient to ſet ſo many a worke and ſerue the realme, but alſo to ſerue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Kerſey, Worſteds, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapeſtry, Caps, knit Sleeues, Hoſen, Peticotes, and Hattes; then Paper, both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of Leather ware, as gloues, poyntes, gyrdles, ſkins for Ierkins; and of tinne all maner of veſſell, and alſo all kinde of glaſſes, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and cheſſes, ſince we will needes haue ſuch things; And Daggers, kniues, hammers, ſawes, cheſells, axes, & ſuch things made of yron. might not wee bee aſhamed to take all theſe things at ſtraungers hands, & ſet ſuch a multitude of their people a worke as I ſpake of now, whoſe finding & wages we doe beare now, where all this profit might bee ſaued within the Realme, where it ſhould not goe from vs, but returne to vs againe from whence it came? And in ſettinge vp of theſe occupations, I would haue them moſt preferred and cheriſhed, that bring moſt commodity and treaſure into the countrey; as yee muſt conſider three ſortes of occupations: one that carieth out the treaſure; the ſecond ſort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, ſo it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it ſpendeth in the countrey; the third bringeth in treaſure to the countrey. Of the firſt ſorte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdaſhers; theſe galley men, Mercers, Fuſtian Sellers, Grocers, & Pothecaries that ſelleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they doe but exhauſt the treaſure of the Realme. Of the ſecond ſort are Victaylers, Inhoulders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Maſons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and [2] Hoopers; which, like as they conuey no money out of *the* countrey, ſo they bringe none in; but where as they get it they ſpend it. Of the thyrd ſort bee theſe clothiers, cappers, worſtedmakers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can nowe recken, that brings into the realme any treaſure. Therefore theſe artes are to bee chearifhed, whereas they be vſed, and where they bee not, they would be ſet vp; and alſo other ſciences moe, as making of glaſſes, making of Swords, Daggers,

[We might make all kinds of cloth and clothes here,

also paper,

all leather goods, glass, cards, chessmen; and

all iron tools.]

[All the money for these now goes abroad.]

[Three sorts of traders.]

[1. Importers send our money away.

2. Other tradesmen spend their earnings in the country.]

[2 Fol. 49]

[3.] That arte is to be most chearished in a tovvne that bringes most to the tovvne.

Kniues, and all tooles of Iron and Steele; alſo making of pinnes, poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. I haue heard ſay that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewiſe. So Briſtow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and was the chiefe miſterie that was exerciſed in the towne. And albeit theſe be but two of the lighteſt faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chyfly mainteined by theſe two faculties aboue rehearſed. I heard ſay in *Venice* (that moſt floriſhing citie at theſe daies of al *Europe*), if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citye; for it is a wonder to ſee what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bringe into a towne, though he himſelfe doth not gaine to his owne commoditye but a poore lyuing. As for example, what money one Worſtedmaker bringes into *the* towne where he dwelles, and how many haue lyuings vnder him, & what wealth he brings to *the* towne where he dwels, truly I can not ſufficiently declare, for by a few worſtedmakers *the* ſame townes they haue are growen to great wealth & ryches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell [1]them out; as I haue knowen good workemen, as well Smythes as Weauers, haue come[2] from ſtraunge parties to ſome Cityes within this Realme, entending to ſet vp theyr craftes, and becauſe they were not free there (but ſpecially becauſe they were better workemen then were any in the Towne) they coulde not bee ſuffered to worke there. Such incorporations had thoſe Miſteries in thoſe Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them firſt.

[Fresh trades to be started.]

[Coventry has lost its making of blue thread; and Bristol its making of points.]

Tovvnes are enriched vvith some one trade.

[Venice entices skilld workmen to it.]

[See what money one Worstedmaker brings to a town!]

[1 Fol. 49, back]

[2 *orig.* comemon]

[We foolishly drive strange skilld workmen out of our towns.]

And doe you thinke it reaſonable that a ſtraunger ſhould bee as free in a City or Towne as they that were prentiſes there? then no man would bee Prentice to any occupation if it were ſo.

Capper.

I ſayde not that they ſhall haue commonly lyke liberty or Fraunchiſe; but as one crafte makes but one particuler companie of a Towne or City, ſo I would haue the weale of the whole City rather regarded then the commodity or Fraunchiſe of one craft or miſterry;

Doctor.

[Very clever workmen should not only be made free of any town,

for, though commonly none ſhould be admitted there to worke but ſuch as are free, yet when a ſinguler good workeman in any miſtery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enſtructe them of the Towne being of the ſame faculty, and alſo bringe into the Towne much commodity beſide, I woulde in that caſe haue priuate Liberties and Priuileges gieue place to a publique weale; and ſuch a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the ſame Towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his firſt entry or ſetting vp.

but, in a decaying town, should be given house-rent, and lent money.]

Yea, where a Towne is decayed, and lackes artificers to furniſh the Towne with ſuch craftes as were either ſometimes exerciſed well there, or might bee by reaſon of the ituation and commodity of the ſame Towne, I woulde haue ſuch craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to thoſe Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr Freedome, yea, theyr houſe rente [1] free, or ſome ſtocke lent them of the common ſtocke of ſuch townes; and when the towne is wel furniſhed of ſuch Artificers, then to ſtay the comming in of Foreners. But while *the* towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no policy for the reſtauration of the towne to keepe of [2] any ſtraunge artificers; for the moſt parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all ſortes, but ſpecially by thoſe *that* make any wares to ſell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treaſure into the ſame: As clothiers, cappers, worſted-makers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, ſmythes of all ſortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parchment makers, gyrdlers, pourſers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, baſket makers, and many other ſuch. As for the mercers and haberdaſhers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot ſee what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. houſholdes, and in ſteade thereof empouerifh ten times as many. But ſince men wil needes haue ſilkes, wine, and ſpice, it is as good that men do ſpend theyr money vpon ſuch in their owne towne as to be dryuen to ſeeke the ſame further. As for *the* reſt of *the* artificers, like as I ſaid before, euen as they take no money out of *the* Countrey, ſo they bryng none in; as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Tylers, Maſons, Bouchers, vittailers, & ſuch like. Alſo an other thinge I recken woulde helpe much to relieue oure Townes decaied; if they would take order that al *the* wares made there ſhould haue a ſpeciall marke, and that marke to be ſet to none but to ſuch

[1 Fol. 50]

[2 off]

[Makers of goods for export should be encourag'd.]

[Middlemen sellers of imports only live on their customers, and do more harm than good.]

[Every town should stamp the goods made in it with its own mark.]

as be truely wrought. And alſo that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (ſuch as cannot, for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers,) ſhould bee limitted to bee vnder the direction of one good Towne or other, and they to ſell no ware but ſuch as are firſt approued and ſealed by the Towne that they are lymited vnto. And by theſe two meanes, that is to ſay, fy[r]ſte [1] by ſtaying of wares wrought beyond ſea, which might be wrought within vs, from comming in to be ſold; Secondly, by reſtraining of our wolles, tinne, felles, & other commodityes from paſſing ouer vnwrought; And thirdly, by brynging in (vnder the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies, making wares to be ſol[d]e outward, & theſe wares to be viewed and ſealed by the towne ſeale before they ſhoulde bee ſolde;—I woulde thynke oure Townes myght be ſoone reſtored to theyr auncyent wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this.

[Country artisans to be affiliated to some town.]

[1 Fol. 50, back]

[Stafford's 3 Remedies for the Decay of Towns.]

Now wee pray you go to the laſt matter ye ſpake of: how theſe diuerſities of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very ſore, and makes great ſedition and deuiſion among them, and in maner makes debate beetwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, *the* Man and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared then all other the foreſayd loſſes of wordly [2] goods. For if wee were neuer ſo poore, and did neuertheleſſe agree amonge our ſelues, wee ſhoulde lycke our ſelues hoale againe in ſhort ſpace.

Knight.

[What's the remedy for our Religious Differences?]

[2 worldly]

Yee ſay truth: with concord, weake things do encreaſe & waxe big; And contrarywiſe, with diſcorde ſtrong thinges waxe weake. And it muſt needes be true that truth it ſelfe ſayth: 'Euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe ſhal bee deſolate.' Wherefore I cannot forbeare to ſhewe you my poore opinion, how ſo great a miſchiefe as this is may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale; & ſtil I will vſe one trade, as in ſeeking out the oryginall cauſe, and by takinge awaye of that to ſhew the remedye. I take the chiefe cauſe hereof, aſwel the ſinnes of them that be the miniſters of Chriſts holy word and miſteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And firſt, of ours, that haue ſwarued altogether from their due courſe, order, and profeſſion, to all kinde of liberality, not onely to [3] the baſenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pride, couetouſnes, and ſuch. Wherefore yee lay men, ſeeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye

Doctor

Concordia que res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur.

[The Sins of Ministers (and Laymen) are the cause of our Religious Troubles.]

[3 Fol. 51]

[While Ministers livd up to what they preacht, all men obeyd them.]

to bee your Leaders and Paſtors, or to whoſe doctryne yee ſhoulde gieue credence, whome yee ſee in lyuing far diſcrepant from the ſame. And therefore ye take vpon you *the* iudgment of ſpirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, for ſo long as the miniſters of the church were of thoſe maners & conuerſation agreeable with theyr doctryne, So long all men, yea, the greateſt prynces of the worlde, and the wyſeſt men, wer content to beleue our doctrine, & to obey vs in things concerning *that* ſoule; and ſince we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, & the holy doctrine of Chryſt ſuffered ſlaunder by our ſinfull liuing. So we haue gieuen the fyrſte occaſion of this euil, & yee haue taken it as an inſtrument to worke this ſcyſme withal. And though both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this miſchief, which I take to bee in the miniſters & paſtors ſpirituall. And to be playne with you, and no more to diſſemble oure owne faultes then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our ſelues fyrſt, I can haue no great truſt to ſee this generall ſcyſme and deuiſion in religion vtterly taken away; it may, percaſe, wyth authority be for a time appeaſed, but neuer ſo as it ſprynge not againe, except wee reforme oure ſelues fyrſt.

The occasion of the scysme in matters of religion.

[is the sin of Ministers; and unless they reform, schism 'll not cease.]

Knight. Mary! and I thinke yee haue ben wel diſciplined & corrected already, ſo as yee had good cauſe to bee reformed, as by taking much of your poſſeſſions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with ſubſidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue more?

Doctor. Yea, no doubte wee haue had beatinge inough, if that would haue ſerued, but ſome maiſters *with* litle beating will [1]teach theyr ſchollers better then other with more ſtrypes can doe; and agayne, ſome ſchollers will be reformed with leſſe beating then other. So you and we doe now: you in beating inough, but litle teaching; and wee agayne, little regarding *the* ſtrypes, doe learne as litle. For, notwithſtanding theſe puniſhments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge, and opening of our faultes, ſee how many of vs haue reformed our ſelues, yea, ſo much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are bound both by gods lawe and our cannons lawes and decrees; how many moe of vs haue reſorted to our benefices to be reſident thereon, which not onely by the ſayd lawes, but alſo vpon greate penalties wee

[1 Fol. 51, back]

[We clergy have been beaten; but with little good result.

How many more of us live in our parishes now?]

are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme! How many leſſe now then before haue ſtudied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee ſcante able to diſcharge one of them! what better triall or examination is there nowe in admittyng of miniſters of the church? What more exacte ſearche is made by our Biſhops for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of ſoules? What better execution of our cannons and decrees doe our Biſhoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their viſitations now, then they did before? Yea, what better hoſpitality, reſidence, or miniſtration eyther of the word or of their other duties, doe our prelates and Byſhops now, then they did before? doe they not lurke in theyr manſions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and ſcant once a yeare will ſee their principall church, where they ought to be continually reſident? be they not in a maner as vnmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all theſe plagues that God ſendes to them? But they are ſo blynded, that they cannot ſee wherefore they be thus puniſhed, & conſtrue it to be for other cauſes, as by the couetouſnes of lay men in deſiringe theyr Poſſeſſions by a hatred conceiued agaynſte them, for not obteyning theyr purpoſe [2]at men of the Chur[1]ches hand[2]. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or ſuch other cauſes as they immagine with themſelues; And thinke that the indignation againſt them ſhortly will ſlake of it ſelfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encreaſe, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay the tenth of theyr goods which they gette with theyr ſore labour and ſweate of theyr browes, when they can not haue for it againe neither ghoſtly comforte nor bodely? what layman will be any thing ſcrupulous to keepe thoſe tythes in his owne handes, when hee ſees vs doe nothing more then hee for it? what credite w[i]ll any man gieue to our doctrine, whom they ſee ſo light in lyuing? what reuerence will they gieue our perſonnes, in whoſe manners they ſee no grauity? But to paſſe from theſe matters to others. There be moſt godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auctority of Counſayles generally, that all Archdeacons ſhould viſite in perſon yearely theyr precinctes. The Biſhop euery three yeares to ſee the whole Dioceſſe, what is to be reformed either priuately or generally, that priuate faultes might be reformed forth with, and the generall at the next Synode; and therefore they haue

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Non-residence, Pluralities, want of care in ordaining men, and in holding Visitations.

Bishops lurk in mansions, coming only once a year to their Cathedrals.]

[1 Fol. 52]

[2—2 ? at churchmen's hands.]

[Who likes paying us clergy tithes, when we do nothing for 'em?]

[Archdeacons and Bishops bilk the laws.]

[Procurations.]

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Bishops take the money for Visitations, but never visit.

theyr procurations. Vifite they doe not in perfon, as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is furely gathered, but the caufe wherefore it was geuen, nothinge kept; the ftipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndon. Then is there another good ordenaunce and godly, abfolued after the like forte; where euery bifhop fhould yerely keepe a finode in his dioceffe of all euangelicall perfons, and euery archbifhop a finod for his whole prouince euery thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the dioceffe worthy reformation, it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation, if it were either doubtfull to the bifhop, or could not be reformed without greater auctority then the Bifhoppes alone. [1] Where bee thefe finodes now kept? yet they receiue euery yere theire finodals of *the* poore priefts; of fuch good ordenance & godly there is nothing kept, but *that* which is their owne priuat commodity, which be *the* procurations & finodals; *the* other part wherefore *that* charge was laid is omitted; the burden remaineth, & the duty is taken away; yet better it were *that* both *the* one & *the* other were taken away, then to haue *the* good parte taken & the worfe to remaine. If they will fay *that* there needeth nowe a daies no fuch vifitation nor fynods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed among vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more neceffary. But our prelats would fay they dare make no lawes in fuch finods for feare of penurye. what neede any mo lawes made then they haue already? what fhould let them to put thefe in execution that be already made, fpecially fince they haue the aide of the temperal lawes thereto? are there not ftatutes made in parliament for refidence, and for reftrayning of pluralitie of benefices, which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes in execution? Are not we worthy to haue other men to correcte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our felues? Is it maruaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conuerfation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profeffion, and that the religion of them fuffereth flaunder, offence, & reproche, which through our defaults fhalbe once required of our hands? Therefore, if we wil haue this fcifme taken away from chriftes church, let vs firft reform our felues & put our lawes in execution, as in reforting to our benefices to keepe refidence, and in contentyng our felues wyth one

They take money too for holding Synods, but never hold 'em.]

[1 Fol. 52, back. *Catchword* Whereby]

[And yet reformation was never more needed than now.]

[Good laws we have; but we won't keep 'em.

Then laymen should make us.]

[If we Clergy want schism to cease, let us reform ourselves.]

Benefice a piece, and wyth the lyuinge that is appointed to vs for our miniſtration, without deuiſing of other extraordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reaſon, then a man to ſpende his tyme where he hath his lyuing, and to do his office for that he hath *the* benefite of? [1]And ſeeing euery benefice is a mans liuing, —& if it be not, it might be amended til it be a competent liuing, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge,—What reaſon is it that one man ſhould haue two mens liuinges, & two mens charge, where he is able to diſcharge but one? Then to haue moe, & diſcharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynſt reaſon. But ſome, percaſe, will ſay, there be ſome of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for ſuch a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forſooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of ſundry values to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leaue the firſt and take *the* better, for the meaneſt Benefice is a ſufficient liuinge for ſome man, which ſhould be deſtitute of a liuing, if that benefice and other like ſhould be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea, I doe knowe *that* men which haue ſuch meane benefices be more commonly reſident, and keepe better hoſpitality on the ſame, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe, '*Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all.*' Nowe looke throughe a whole Dioceſſe, you ſhall not finde xx. perſons reſident that may diſpende xl. l. a piece; nor for al the benefices in a Dioceſſe, the fourth perſon reſident ouer the ſame. What temperal office is ſo far abuſed as theſe be that be ſpirituall and of greater charge? I pray God ſend our Prelats Eyes to ſee theſe Enormities; for it ſhoulde ſeeme that they are ſo blinded that they cannot ſee them. And then I doubt not but all delayes ſet a part they will reforme them; and if they do not, I pray God ſend our Maieſtrats temperall the minde to reforme theſe thinges with their ſeculer power. And to ſtudy for the reformation [2]of them, rather then for theyr poſſeſſions, Chriſtian Princes beare not their ſwords in vayne; nor yet is it ſo ſtraunge a thing to ſee Chriſtian princes reforme the Prelates that ſwarue from their duties. Thus far be it ſpoken

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[1 Fol. 53]

Propter officium datur beneficium.

[We have benefices from 1000 to 20 marks a year, for men according to their capacity.]

[The poor clergy live at home more than the rich.]

[We haven't 20 resident Parsons with £40 a year.

Not 1 Parson in 4 is resident.

If the Bishops won't reform this, I hope to God the laity will.]

[2 Fol. 53, back]

touching the reformation of them *that* be mynisters of *the* Church. Now to speake of *that* is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee must vnderstand, that al *that* geue them selues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly subiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke *Tully* doth report): *the* one is to take these things *that* we knowe not for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyding of which fault men ought to take both good space and great diligence in consideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement of the same; the other vice, to bestowe too great a study and labour about obscure and hard thinges nothing necessary. Let vs now consider, and those faults be not among you at these dayes, ye be all now studious to knowe the vnderstanding of holy scripture. And well, for there can be no better desire, more honest, nor more necessary for any christian man; but yet doe yee not see many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the consideration or study of scripture, take vpon them to iudge of high matters being in controuersie, geeuing to quicke assent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens, before they haue considered what might be sayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely seene in men studious of the knowledge of scripture, but also in younge students of all other sciences: shall ye not finde a student in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the study of *the* lawe not past iii. yeares, more ready to assoyle you a doubtfull cause of the lawe, then either he himselfe or another, after *that* he hath studied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, so it is in a young Grammarian, Logitian, Rethoritian, & so of al other sciences. Therefore *Pythagoras* forbade his Schollers to [1]speake the firste v. yeares *that* they came to him, which lesson I would to God yee would be content to obserue, before yee gaue any iudgement in matters of holy scripture. And then I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by collation of one place with another of scripture, finde a greater difficulty therein then yee doe now, & bee more scrupulouse to geue an aunswere in high thinges then yee be now; and this harme commeth of rashe iudgement in *that* part, that when a man hath once vttred his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great shame for him to bee brought from *that* he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what so euer he readeth after, he construeth for the mayntenaunce of his

[The presumption of ill-informd laymen in judging religious matters.]

Cicero de offi. Lib. i.

The faultes in the part of the laitye. [*orig.* dutye]

[All young students are cheeky, whether in Divinity, Law, Grammar, or any other science.]

[[1] Fol. 54]

[No one ought to give an opinion on Bible difficulties till he's read for 7 years.]

[Evils of rash judgment.]

opinion; yea, and wil force that ſide, not onely with his wordes and perſwaſions, but alſo with that powre and authority *that* he hath, and will labour to bring other to the ſame opinion, as many as he can, as though his Opinion ſhoulde bee the more true, the moe fauorers that he may get of *the* ſame. By ſuch meanes, if we ſeeke but for the truth, that is not to bee iudged to be alwayes on the beſt ſide *that* getteth *the* ouer hand by power, authority, or Suffrages extorted. it is not like in the diſceptacion & inquiſition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wreſtling; for he that hath the ouer hand in theſe thinges, hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is ſometimes put to ſilence, or otherwiſe vanquiſhed in the ſighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conqueſt of truth on his ſide. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what ſhoulde wee deuide our ſelues into factions and parties? but let the matter be quietly diſcuſſed, tryed, and examined, by men to whom the iudgement of ſuch things appertayneth. And prouide, in the meane time, that neyther party do vſe any vyolence agaynſt the other to bringe them by force to this or that ſide, vntill the whole or moſt part of them, to whom *the* diſcuſcion of ſuch things appertayneth vnto, [1]doe freely conſent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to deſcide ſuch controuerſies; and ſince this contencion muſt once haue an ende, it were better take an end be times, then too late, when percaſe more harme ſhal haue enſued of this daungerous Sciſme, as hath already done in other parties, euen before our Eyes, And in like thinges hath before this time bene ſeene, of ſuch ſort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what loſſe of Chriſtian men, what diminiſhing of the Chriſtian fayth, what continuall warres hath the Faction of the *Arrians* bene the occaſion of? did it not ſeperate and ſeuer at length all *Aſia* and *Affricke* from the Chriſtian fayth? Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked ſuperſticion, of the *Turke* graffed ouer this *Arrian* Sect? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyuiſion more daungerous then that which groweth of matters in Religion, ſo it were moſt expedient and neceſſary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counſel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apoſtles, who firſt tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appeaſe all controuerſies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghoſt, as his promiſe is,

[Truth doesn't always get the most votes.]

[Why should seekers for the Truth split into factions?]

As Constantyne the great did in the time of Arius.

[1 Fol. 54, back]

[Let all questions be discusst by experts, and the majority decide.]

[The only way to stop divisions is to have a General Council.]

[No doubt the Holy Ghost 'll come to it. Yet the Bp. of Rome (or Pope) is a difficulty.]

wilbe preſente in euery ſuch aſſembly that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will ſay, thoughe wee would for our partes ſet a ſide parciality, and be indifferent and vſe no cohercion to get numbers & voyces that ſhoulde fauour our partes, who can promiſe that the Byſhoppe of *Rome* and other Prelates would doe *the* ſame? Surely, if yee did ſay ſo, yee ſayd a great matter, for they be men, & much more ſubiect to affections then yee be. But I ſhalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, aſwell as in other thinges. I take all theſe matters that be now a dayes in controuerſie to be of one of theſe ſortes: that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Myniſters [1]of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching thoſe articles that concerne religion, I would wiſhe *that* they had onely the diſcuſcion thereof, which ought and haue vſed alwayes to haue the iudgement of the ſame; & as touching the articles that concerne the profits of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, I would haue theſe left to the diſcuſcion of the ſeculer powers, becauſe it concerneth ſeculer thinges onely; where no man neede miſtruſt, but that *the* Maieſtrates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that ſerueth ſo honorable a roume as *the* miniſtration of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I woulde wiſhe in thinges touching *the* byſhop of *Rome*, & his iuriſdi[c]tion, *that* he ſhould be ſet a part, & ſome other indifferent perſons choſen, by chriſtian Princes, to direct or be Preſidentes in the Counſayle, while his matter is in handlinge (if it pleaſe Chriſtian Princes to houlde a counſayle with that Whore of *Babylon*,) for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his owne cauſe. Here I haue but briefly touched *the* ſummes of things after my ſimple phantaſie, referringe the alowing or reiecting of all or ſome of them to your better iudgement.

Hovw this scisme might be remedied.

[1 Fol. 55]

[Our rows are on (1.) the pay of the clergy, or (2.) points of Religion.

Let the Clergy settle (2), and the secular powers (1).]

[How to deal with the Bp. of Rome.]

The Bishop of Rome is no indifferent man. [but the Whore of Babylon.]

Knight. I am ſorry that it is ſo late that wee muſt needes depart nowe.

Marchaunt, Husband, & Capper. And ſo bee wee, in good fayth; but wee truſt ere you departe the towne, to haue ſome communication wyth you agayne.

Doctor. I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I ſhall remayne here beyonde too morow morning, which if I do (in any thing *that* my ſimple iudgement will reach vnto you) you ſhall heare my farther opinion; in the meane time, I pray you ſo to thinke of mee as of one that if I haue ſpoken any thing which may

bee preiudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other man that can ſhew how all theſe griefes, or the more part of them, [1] may bee remedied by any other better meanes; for I know, of many a thouſande in this lande I may worſte ſpeake in ſuch a wayghty matter. And ſo here for this preſente I take my leaue of you all.

[The Doctor's willing to yield to any wiser Doctor of the Social Evils of his day.]

[1 Fol. 55, back]

And thus wee departed for that time; but on the morrowe, when I knewe maiſter Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication ſhould bee loſt, but remembred at *the* leaſt in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent, as opportunity ſhoulde ſerue, I might brynge forth ſome of his Reaſons in places where they might eyther take place or be aunſwered otherwiſe then I could. And therefore I haue noted the ſayd communication briefly of this ſorte, as you ſee.

Knight.

[I've set down shortly the Doctor's reasons.]

* * *

FINIS.

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APPENDIX.

[PROCLAMACION FOR THE ABASSING OF COYNES.]

[March, 1561.]

[*Ashm. MS.* 1148, *leaf* 395.]

By the Quene.

ALTHOUGH the Quenes Maiestie had determyned (aftre the tornyng of the base and copper moneyes to fyne Sterling moneyes, Whiche to hir greate honor, and the weale of the Realme was ended aboutes Michellmas last) to have forboren for the ease of hir people from the amendment of the vallue of the same fyne moneys, for sōme convenyent tyme, and with sōme kynde of moderation therein: Yet is hir Maiestie nowe, vppon many and necessary cawses newely happened, moved and induced, thoughh to hir owne private greate chardge, to alter this hir former purpose, bothe for the tyme and the moderation in the doing thereof. Whereof emonges other cawses, the rashnes of a greate sorte of people, shewing their wytt owte of season, and the covetoosnes of a greater sorte, are the principall: the one by spredding thoroughe the realme of rvmors that frome one markett-daye to an-other the money shold be decryed, meanyng thereby to prevent vnseasonably and vntymely, hir Maiesties Determination, (for staye whereofe hir Maiestie gave ordre by proclamation, but as it nowe appereth, not thereby remedyed, by reason the same rvmors were before-hand vniuersally spredd and dryven into mens heades by sinistre meanes); the other sorte, taking hold of thes rumors, and onely vppon covetoosnes furdering the same, have allredy vniuersally enhaunced the prices of all thinges to be solde for money, according to the rate as thoughe the moneys were allredy decryed. And nowe for that it is evydent that the vniuersall expectation for the decrye of the money, is, by meanes of these former rvmors, so constantly and depely setled in mens heades; and thereaftre the prices of all thinges so highly enhaunced, that vntill the moneys be in dede

brought to the vallue at the whiche they were entended and ought to be, not onely the meaner sort of people, as laborers in husbandrye, handycraftes-men, and suche like, but also all serving-men, Soldiors and others, lyving onely by pention or wages, and therewith bying their victell and sustenaunce; shalbe pytefully oppressed with vnreasonable prices and derth. Therefore hir Maiestie, having compassyon of their estate, for the releffe of theym, and for the remedye of suche a willfull Derth, and consequently with one dede (that hereafter of necessitie ought haue followed) to make suche a fynall certeyn end and honorable establishment of the state of the moneyes of this realme, as hathe been long wished, and is never hereafter to be chaunged ne altered. By the advise of hir Counsell and of many other noble, wyse, and expert men, Dothe declare, and by this proclamation dothe ordeyne; that all maner of moneys now curraunt within this realme shall, aftre this proclamation, be vallued and curraunt as hereafter followeth. And so shall remayne withowte chaunge, being in very dede the Standerd that hathe contynewed and remayned in this realme, sence the sixt yere of king Edward the fourthe, her Maiesties greate grandfather, and so all the tymes of king Edward the fifte, king Richard the thirde, and king Henry the viith, and so forthe vntill the xvjth yere of the reigne of king Henry the eight, hir Maiesties father, whiche is so ryche and good as none canne be better for the state of this realme thereby to florish and growe in wealthe and good ordre.

First, the Moneyes of gold shalbe curraunt as followeth:

ffyne gold	The	Souerayne Royall Angell half Angell	That was curraunt for	xxx s. xv s. x s. v s.	Shalbe curraunt for	xx s. x s. vj s. viij d. iij s. iiij d.
Crowne gold	The	Souerayne half souerayne Crowne half crowne	That was curraunt for	xx s. x s. v s. ij s. vjd.	Shalbe curraunt for	xiij s. iiij d. vj s. viij d. v s. xx d.
Straunge gold	The	ffrenche crowne Burgundion crowne	That was curraunt for	vj s. vj s.	Shalbe curraunt for	iiij s. iiij s.

Secondly, the Moneyes of Siluer shalbe curraunt as followeth:

ffyne sterling Siluer	The	Shilling half shilling Quarter shilling Three half pence Three farthinges	That was curraunt for	xij d. vj d. iij d. jd. ob. ob. q.	Shalbe curraunt for	viij d. iiij d. ij d. j d. ob.

And forasmuche as there be three other peces of siluer moneyes curraunt in this realme, that is to saye, a grote, twoo pence, and a

penny, the which cannot be reduced to any good and even rekoning one by one, Hir maiestie meanyng that no person shold take more harme by theym then by hir other moneyes, Dothe ordeyne that three of the same grotes shalbe curraunt for eight pence, and three of the saide peces of twoo pence shalbe curraunt for a grote, and three of the saide pence shalbe curraunt for twoo pence, And for that the quantytie thereof in the realme is not greate, and yet cumbersom to the people to paye one by one, Hir maiestie is pleased, betwixt the end of the next moneth and novembre following, thoughe it shalbe to hir pryvate chardge, to delyver at hir mynt, for every of the saide three peces, as muche other fyne moneys as the same be nowe vallued by this proclamation. And all this, hir maiestie wold to be accepted of all good naturall subiectes, as one of the principall actes tending to the recovery of the auncyent fame and wealthe of this realme; and that no credytt be gyven to malitioose, busye, and envyoose persons, that either of ignoraunce or malice shall deprave this noble acte: Wherein hir Maiestie evydently susteyneth at this present so greate a burden in hir present treasure, as (were it not for respect of the commen weale) ought not to be by hir Maiestie borne. But hir principall care is, with godes grace and speciall assistaunce, to preferre allwayes the weale, suertie, and honor of this Realme, before hir owne pryvate weale or estate/.

Gyven at the Palace of Westminster, the daye of Marche, the fourthe yere of hir Maiesties reigne. 1561.

God save the Quene.

[Endorsed:—] Proclamacion for the Abassing of Coynes.

NOTES.[1]

p. x. A learned acquaintance at New College writes :

"As far as my own observation goes, I should certainly agree in considering that 'the tone of W. S.'s book is not that of a man of 27.' One phrase which is put into the Doctor's mouth, 'these 40 years' (I forget the exact context [p. 51 below]) would hardly have come naturally from a writer who had not seen 30. Nor can I see sufficient evidence to identify the William Stafford of New College with the 'Conspirator' of 1587. . . . .

"The *Briefe Conceipt* is not in our College Library ; nor is it apparently among the books given to Winchester College Library by W. Stafford."

The passage my correspondent alludes to is on p. 51 below, where the Doctor says : "I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes . . . and such thinges, not a dosen in all London." If we may identify our W. S. with his Doctor, this settles that he was not Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, specially when it is confirmd by other like sayings by the Doctor, on p. 27 (haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares) ; p. 28 (where he speaks of the old prices of caps, shoes, and horse-shoeing) ; p. 40 (if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past . . .) ; p. 64 (where he contrasts the old wages, &c. with the new, and says, "I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer," &c.) ; p. 68 (where he refers, as having livd in them, to 'the later yeares of King Henry the eight,' who died Jan. 28, 1547) ; p. 81 ('our Coyne at this present day, yea, *and many yeares past*, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse') ; p. 86, 87, 89, &c., all implying that the speaker was old. But, as I have noted in my Forewords, W. S. *may* be speaking only dramatically through the Doctor (cp. 'ours,' 'yee laye men,' p. 91 ; p. 92, &c.) If so, we must notice that W. S. identifies himself, the writer of the treatise, with the Knight, on p. 32, p. 75, and in the last paragraph of the book, p. 99, "therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte, as you see." If then the Knight represents William Stafford, he was probably older than the Doctor, for not only does he refer, near the top of p. 33, to his buying pigs and geese 30 years ago, but near the foot of the page he pro-

[1] The Notes and Indexes are mainly by Miss Isabel Marshall of Bedford.—F.

bably implies that he had Abbey or priory lands given him by Henry VIII. in or soon after 1532 A.D. But the safer plan is, no doubt, to rely on the general tone of the book, to which I appeald at first; and I do not think many readers will differ from the conclusion of my correspondent and myself on the point of the author's not being a man of 27.—F.

p. xii. *William Stafford and the Popish Plot.* Mr Greenfield sends me a further note (29 July 1876), which is interesting, but contains no evidence as to the authorship of the *Briefe Conceipt*:—

"The difference between us as to the author of the '*Compendium*' is narrowed to a question of likelihood. I think the balance is in favour of the son of Queen Elizabeth's Lady of the Bedchamber.

"Excuse me for suggesting that you do not seem to understand the part which William Stafford played in the project of Des Trappes. This branch of the Stafford family was strictly Protestant, of the Calvinistic type. In the reign of Mary, Sir William and his wife, with their eldest son and daughter, migrated to Geneva, where their youngest son—afterwards Sir John Stafford, Kt.—was born and baptized in Jan. 1555-6, *John Calvin* being the godfather.

"William, their second son, was not a *popish plotter*. He may have been an intriguer and informer of Walsingham's. The political morality of that age was not what it is now. Plot was met by counterplot. Elizabeth and her Lords of the Council 'knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures upon their instruments.' Success was rewarded, whilst failure was disowned and not unfrequently punished. The system of spies and informers was at its height; and Walsingham, as Secretary of State, employed both largely.

"January 1586-7 was a very critical time for the Queen and the minister. The Babington conspiracy had only just before been stamped out. It had been preceded by those of Somerville in 1583 and Throgmorton in 1584, besides a general commotion of opposite religious parties. In 1584 the Earl of Leicester organised the association '*against popish conspirators*,' which was mainly to strengthen Elizabeth's hold over the Scottish Queen's liberty and life. More recently the commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots had pronounced sentence of death against her. Pretexts were sought for justifying Elizabeth's signing the warrant of execution. The King of France had sent over M. de Bellievre as a special envoy to intercede for Mary's life. He had discharged his mission before the end of December, and was now demanding his passport of return, which he received on 14 January 1586-7. Such are facts. Need I paint the effect of the situation upon an aspirant for court favour? The hope of reward, if he succeeded in implicating any of the members of the French embassy in a plot for getting rid of Elizabeth and saving the life of Mary?

"Whether he were a volunteer, or an agent of Walsingham's, the effect of success, or failure, would be the same. Stafford tells us, however, that Walsingham directed him to go on with the affair.

"The statements of Stafford and Des Trappes as to who first took up the project of assassination are contradictory. Anyhow, Walsingham could not have believed that Stafford was in earnest, even if it emanated from Stafford: otherwise, we may be sure he would not have come out of the Tower alive. As it was, Stafford failed in committing any of the French embassy in a plot, and of so adding a justifiable pretext for Elizabeth's signing the warrant for the execution of Mary. Hence it became colourably necessary, for the credit of Elizabeth and her minister, to imprison Stafford. So much as to Stafford's doings in this matter.

"With regard to the author of the *Compendium*, I think Dr Bliss's assertion, viz., 'Besides him' (W. Stafford, M.A., of Ch. Ch. in 1618) 'was another of the same name, but before in time,' &c., must be restricted in its application to an *Oxford Student*, and not generally. This construction strengthens the claim I make for the Fellow of New College as the author of the *Compendium*."

p. xiii. Note that our Wm. Stafford had studied Moral Philosophy; p. 12, l. 26-7.—F.

p. 12. *Image* = representation. Cp. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 248.

p. 14. "*there comes me in*." This is another of the so common instances of what Grammarians call the Ethic Dative, found constantly in Greek. It occurs in Shakspere over and over again: *Two Gent. of Verona*, IV. iv., "he steps *me* to her trencher"; "he thrusts *me* himself into the company"; &c., &c.

p. 21. "*There may be . . that they had*." Cp. *Love's Labour Lost*, I. i. 71.

p. 23. compleat*e*. This may be an example of the adverbial inflexion in *-e* common in Chaucer. See Morris, Introduction to Prologue, p. xl. There is another instance, upright*e*, on p. 24.

p. 24. *to ear*. Cp. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. iii.

p. 27. *esteemeth*. "The plural of the pres. indic. ending in *-eth* was the ordinary inflexion for all persons in the Old English Southern Dialects."—Morris, Int. to Chaucer's Prologue, p. xxxviii.

p. 33, l. 6 from foot: *any*. Is this for *many*, or a use of *any* = some?

p. 34. *Meany*: cp. Chaucer, meyné, *Knts. Ta.* l. 400; *Nonnes Priests Ta.* l. 573. Mod. French *ménu*.—I. M.

As *meine* is one of the words that Stanihurst calls 'Chaucer English,' I take the opportunity of reprinting all he says on the English talkt in Ireland:—

Old English in Weisford and Fingall.

"Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept as well there [in Wexford] as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop; a wisp, a wad; a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket; a sillibucke,[1] a copprous; a faggot, a blease or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I iudge); a physician, a leach; a gap, a shard; a base court or quadrangle, a bowen, or rather (as I doo suppose,) a barton; the houshold or folks, *meanie;* sharpe,

[1] Sillybauk, a syllabub. *Lincolnshire*.—Halliwell's Gloss.

keene ; estrange, vncouth ; easie, eeth[1] or eefe ; a dunghill, a mixen. As for the word 'bater,' that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a meere Irish word that crept vnawares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus, seemed to have obserued : yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so peeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie, in words of two syllables they give the last the accent : as they saie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclese, &c : which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English."—1586. Richard Stanihurst, *The Description of Ireland*, Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, vol. ii. p. 11, col. i, l. 28—58.—F.

Bater.

The pronuntiation of the Irish women.

p. 37. *Brass money.*

> *French Soldier.* Est il impossible d'echapper la force de ton bras?
> *Pistol.* Brasa, cur !
> Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat,
> Offer'st me brass ?—*Henry V.*, IV. iv. 17—21.—P. A. Daniel.

p. 40. "*Men do turne . . . but only sheepe.*" This passage, with those on p. 46 and p. 80, is strong evidence of the existence of the Old Teutonic Arable Mark. See Maine's Village Communities, Lect. III.

p. 49. "*Surely common . . men the more.*" Compare with this the following passage from the official letter given to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellour in 1553, when they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. It is quoted in the Introduction to Adam Smith, from Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 231 : "For the God of Heaven & Earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region to the ende that one shoulde need of another ; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifie all . . ."

p. 50. *foreign trifles exchanged for English valuables.* Compare Harrison, Book II, chap. 9, p. 235, col. 2, ed. 1587 : "I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own, but other mens, do most of all delite vs ; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we

[1] A.S. *eaðe, eðe.*

reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries." See too chap. 10, p. 236, col. 1, l. 50, "one trifling toie not worth the carriage, comming (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea, is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home." And chap. 1, p. 221, col. 1, l. 27, "And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed then a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value." Also, Book II., chap. 19, p. 323 of my edition.—F.

p. 51. *the Millener:* the dealer in goods imported from Milan. The name has narrowd into that of the maker or seller of ladies' bonnets, hats, caps, &c.—F.

p. 51. *glasses:* on the general use of glass drinking vessels, see Harrison, Book II., p. 147; and Falstaff in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 155, "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking." Also F. Thynne's *Emblems*, &c. p. 62, l. 8, "glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse."—F.

p. 51. *vile claie*, &c.: the silex and potash to make glass of.—F.

p. 51. *pryple (pebble) stones and Ferne rootes.* Compare Harrison, p. 147: "The poorest also will haue glasse if they may; but sith the Venecian is somewhat to deere for them, they content themselues with *such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone.*"—F.

p. 52. *Wool exported, and wrought abroad.* Compare Harrison, Book III., chap. 10, p. 236, ed. 1587: "Some of them [foreigner traders] can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case [= skin] of a fox, of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will, for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and, for lacke of dailie practise, vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science."—F.

p. 64. *Excesse in apparell and fare.* Compare Harrison, Book II., chapters 7 and 6, p. 167—172, p. 144—155.—F.

p. 64. "*Countenance,*" fair shew. Cp. *Measure for Measure*, V. i., "Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up in *countenance.*"

p. 97. "*hee that is sometimes . . truth on his side.*" There is a passage similar to this in J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, ch. ii. p. 16, People's Edition.

ARCHAIC WORDS AND FORMS.

A, to, p. 27.
A doe, to do, p. 15.
Aduyses, p. 12, l. 12, opinions. Fr. *avis*.
Afore, before, p. 22.
Agayne, *prep.* against, p. 40, l. 12 from foot.
Agglettes, tagged points, p. 50.
Appayred, grew worse, p. 80.
Areses, pieces of Arras tapestry hangings, p. 66.
Assay, p. 45, try.
Assoyle, resolve, explain, p. 96.
Assuered, p. 43, sure.
Away, *for* do away, p. 66.

Basing, p. 49, cowering.
Ben, p. 80, been.
Biefes, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, oxen.
Booty, remedy, p. 18; same as Boote, Chaucer's Prologue, l. 424.
Bouchers, p. 71, butchers.
Bread-corn and malt-corn, p. 46.
Broode, *sb.* breeding, stock, p. 43, l. 10.
But, only, "liveth but a hundreth," p. 22.
By, during, "lived *by* all that space," p. 23, and p. 26.
By, on, "lived *by* their day wages," p. 16.
By course, in order, p. 63.
By likelihood, p. 82, probably.
By means it being, p. 80, by means of its being.

Can, know, p. 25.
Censure, p. 12, line 21, opinion, criticism.
Chargeable, p. 46, expensive.
Cheape, *sb.* p. 35, bargain, price.
Chearished, p. 47. Fr. *cherer*, to cheere, to cherish, &c.
Ciuilion, p. 40, l. 7 from foot, one learned in the Civil Law.
Civile, p. 21, civilized.
Civility, p. 26, civilization.
Cleane, p. 19, proper, neat, well appointed.
Close, p. 14, private.
Come in place, p. 30.
Commodities, commodiously, conveniently: "lying commodities for them," p. 66, l. 3 from foot.
Competently, p. 49, enough.
Compleate, p. 23, completely.
Conceipt, conception, idea, p. 67.
Concertation, p. 27, conference, p. 20, 23, comparison.
Conjunct, p. 23.
Conservation, p. 15, preservation.
Considered *of*, for *by*, p. 35, l. 25; consider me, p. 34.
Countenance, 'fair shew,' state, p. 63, p. 64, and note.
Cut, slasht, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.

Damozins, p. 54, damsons.
Dearth, dearness, p. 47, l. 4 from foot.
Declination, decline, p. 65.
Devise, p. 12. Fr. "*Devis:* m. Speech, talke, discourse, a conference or communication."—Cotgrave.
Disceptation, p. 12, l. 7 from foot. Fr. "*Diceptation* . . disputation, contention, arguing, debating, reasoning, about a matter."—Cotgr.

Discussion, distinguishing, p. 24.
Dispend, p. 95, spend.
Displeasaunt, p. 43, l. 3 from foot, displeasing.

Eare, to plough, p. 24, and note.
Eke, p. 72, also.
Enhaunse, p. 28, raise.
Ensearch, p. 30, l. 3 from foot, search out, seek for.
Enter-comminers, p. 86, inter-commoners.
Entermedled, p. 86, intermixed.
Equipolent, p. 22, of equal power.
Erable, p. 41, l. 15 from foot, ploughable, arable.
Estats, states, condition, p. 20.
Esteeme, p. 58, estimate.
Evangelicall, p. 94, preaching the gospel.
Exercise, tillage, practise it, carry it on, p. 44, l. 15.

Feate, p. 12, l. 13; p. 41. Fr. "*faict*: m. A fact, act, motion, . . also, an allegation, proposition, argument, or article, in pleading." —Cotgrave.
Feate, manufacture, trade, p. 46, p. 69, l. 19.
Fetched at, p. 51.
For, before infinitive, for to helpe, p. 18, like Fr. *pour aider*.
Freating, p. 59, fretting, biting.
Fryseadowes, p. 51, ? Frisian fine cloth.
Furniture of her warres, equipment for them, p. 24.

Garded, braided, ornamented, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.
Gardes, braidings, ornaments, p. 65, l. 19, 20.
Gettings, earnings, p. 29.
Goeth clear, is free from blame, p. 27.
Good, better, best, used as a term of comparison, "good cheap," a good bargain, p. 34 et passim.
Graffe, graft, p. 24.
Groundely, p. 55, fundamentally.
Growing of, proceeding from, p. 70.

Haleth, p. 31, haul, pull.
Handy labour, p. 41.
Hath bene, p. 40, have been.
Have in charge, p. 11.
Him, it, p. 82.
His, *gen.* its, p. 81.
Holde, p. 35, l. 5, holding, farm.
Holpen, p. 33, helped.
Hoyssing, p. 82, hoisting.
Husband, farmer, husbandman, p. 32, &c.; p. 40, l. 4 from foot.

Image, p. 12, picture.
Impulsion, p. 78, impulse.
In maner, p. 21; in manner for, p. 15; maner, welt: "well maner of things."
Inning, p. 24, getting in.
Intend, p. 69, l. 20, devise, create.

Lay forth, bring forward, p. 42.
Least, p. 77, lest.
Leaver, p. 37, rather.
Let, hinder, p. 94 et passim.
Licked themselves whole, p. 28, 91.
Longe of, result of, modern vulgar along of, p. 16.
Luker, p. 48, lucre, money, gain, profit.

Maintenaunce, in, of, p. 41, in support of.
Manurance, holding or handling (?), p. 63.
Manure, p. 63, p. 77, to cultivate. Cp. *Othello*, I. iii. 328: "sterile with idleness or *manured* with industry."
Meane, p. 41, means.
Meany (mainy, p. 84), household, following, p. 34, p. 64, and note.

Member of Philosophy, p. 12.
Minish, p. 19.
Misterye, p. 69, trade, business.
Moe, more, p. 22.
More, greater, p. 32, l. 11 from foot.
Mought, p. 80, might.
Move, p. 12, l. 8 from foot, touch on, discuss.
Muttons, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, sheep.
Myne, p. 68, my.

Neare, p. 76, nearer.
Non, not, p. 23.
Nor, no, p. 21, double negative, like Fr.
Noted a, *for* noted as a, p. 14.

Occasion, take, p. 69.
Occupied, carried on, practist, p. 47, l. 18.
Occupier, p. 89.
Occurrents, occurrences, p. 23.
Of, p. 46, l. 5, by.
Of my faith, p. 27; of all hands, p 18, *for* on.
On, complain, *for* of, p. 13.
Ordered, p. 27, l. 10, arranged, made accessible.
Other, for others, p. 15.
Over, besides, in addition to, p. 8.
Owches, p. 50, ornaments, jewels.

Paines, punishments, p. 47.
Pass my compass, p. 12, go beyond my limit.
Paynefull, p. 47, l. 1, trouble-taking, laborious.
Penner, p. 50, l. 5 from foot, pen-case.
Percase, perchance, perhaps, p. 41, l. 13, &c.
Perfit, perfect, p. 23.
Peruse, p. 63, examine.
Phantasies, fancies, p. 68.
Physicke, Physics, p. 24, l. 2 from foot.
Plentious, well to do, p. 19.
Poulder, powder, p. 29, l. 5 from foot.
Prety while, a, p. 32.
Provoked, p. 12, l. 11, p. 47, l. 8 from foot, callid on, stirrd up.
Puke, French, p. 64, l. 7 from foot. 'Explained by Baret, a colour between russet and black. "*Chiáro scuro*, a darke puke colour," Florio, p. 97.'—Halliwell's Glossary.
Pull, p. 30, pull up, pluck out.
Purchased, procured, p. 25.
Pylate, p. 26.

Rear corn, to grow it, p. 46.
Refreshing, *sb.* p. 41.
Remember, remind, p. 66.
Reporte me, I, p. 29, I appeal (to you).
Resemble, compare, p. 26.
Resemble, to, of, p. 15.
Respect, to have, to, p. 28.
Rise *at* your hand, p. 35, l. 20, rise from, be caused by, your hand.
Romth, space, p. 57.

Scripture, hath not red scripture, p. 26, studied. Cp. Fr. *Scavoir moult d'escripture*, to be learned, or skilfull in, or well acquainted with, most bookes.
Seene, a man universally, p. 32, cultured.
Selled, p. 78, sold.
Set by, p. 25, 26, to value.
Sette, lease at a fixt rent: "sette your land," p. 35; "price is so set," p. 35.
Shale, p. 26, husk, shell.
Shiftes, p. 35, l. 14, turns, tricks.
Should, p. 22, 37, would.
Sith, p. 30, since.
Skant, scarcely, p. 14.
Slake, p. 93.
Smarte, p. 81.
Sorte, of that, p. 74, in that way.

Spake, p. 32, spoke.
Sparkes of gold, p. 51.
Spoke, p. 45, spoken.
Stay, at a, p. 28, at a fixt level, permanent.
Stent, *sb.* p. 35, l. 4, stop, point.
Stented, fixt, stopt, limited, p. 63, 66.
Stricke, strike, p. 60.
Subjection of, subjection to, p. 21.
Such who, p. 27.
Suerty, p. 30, safety.
Sweeped, swept, p. 66.

Taken, p. 12, considered.
Tallage, p. 86, l. 8, duty, tax. Fr. "*taille:* f. A taske, or tax; a tallage, tribute, imposition."—Cotgrave.
Taryng, p. 22, tarrying, remaining.
Than, then, p. 11, 14, 17.
That that, that which, p. 23, 66.
That, *for* those, p. 23; *for* that which, p. 22; *for* what, p. 12.
This, *adv.* thus, p. 35, l. 7 from foot.
Thorough, p. 30, through.
To, in addition to, p. 23.
Trade, p. 91.
Travaile, p. 21.
Trespass, break (the law), p. 85, l. 13 from foot.
Trimming, ornamentation applied to houses, p. 66.

Understanded, understood, p. 56.
Uprighte, uprightly, p. 24.
Use, p. 38, to be in the habit of.
Uttered, p. 69, l. 8, put forth, exported, sold.

VERBS.

Infinitive Mood, used for Subjunctive.

Societie to grow, p. 49.
to the intent to eat, p. 14; to the intent to continue, p. 41.
in hope to come, p. 16; ground to sustaine, p. 72.

Used for Modern dependent Indicative Clause.

"I . . confess . . that, . . yet the dearth . . *to remain and continue*," p. 81; "to assure . . . the same to be," p. 60.

Used for Present Participle.

have given over to live, p. 17; heard of it to do, p. 54.

Past Participle in *-en.*

are growen, p. 59.
is comen, p. 66.

Indicative Mood, Present tense, 3rd pers. plural, ending in *-eth.*

Esteemeth, p. 26, note.
Conueieth, p. 66.
Standeth, p. 31.

Sing. number after plural nouns, &c.:

some excelles, p. 12; other that followes, *for* others who follow, p. 15; inclosures . . . causes, p. 15; men sendes, p. 20, &c.

Verderers, p. 66, ? Fr. "*Ouvrage de verdure*, Forest worke; or flourisht worke, wherein gardens, woods, or forests, be represented."—Cotgrave.
Vente, p. 84, last line; course.
Ventered, p. 50, sold. Fr. *vente*, sale.
Vility, p. 85, l. 3 from foot, vileness.

Wall, driveth me to the wall, puzzles me, beats me, p. 35.
Weaking, weakening, p. 40, l. 17.
Weild, p. 77, l. 3 from foot, wield, manage.
What, p. 18, which.
Whether, p. 79, where, whither.
Which, p. 14, who.
Whom, p. 21, those with whom.
Wist, p. 45, knew.
Would, p. 41, should.

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